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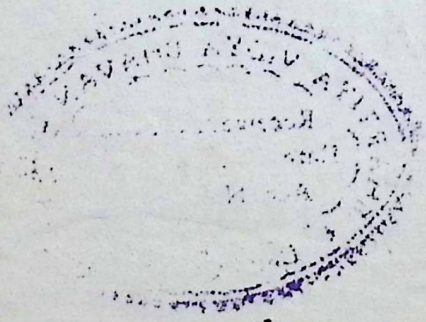

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TECHNICAL TERMS AND TECHNIQUE OF SANSKRIT GRAMMAR

Part I

BY

KSHITISH CHANDRA CHATTERJI

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"यत्नेनापादितोऽप्यर्थः कुशलैरनुमातृभिः ।
अभियुक्ततरैरन्यैरन्यथैवोपपाद्यते ॥"

भर्तृहरिः ।

Bhawan's Sri Sankaracharya Sanskrit Mahavidyalaya ★ Bharatiya Vidya
678

1948

VISVANATH CHATTERJI
81, NEW SHYAMBAZAR STREET
CALCUTTA 4

Price: Rupees ~~Ten~~ Twelve *only.*

PUBLISHED BY
SATYA PRASAD BHATTACHARJEE
F.R.A.S. (LONDON)
12, MARCUS LANE, CALCUTTA 7

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Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan's Sri Sankaracharya Mahavidyalaya
628

PRINTED BY M. MUKERJI,
AT TEMPLE PRESS,
2, NAYARATNA LANE, CALCUTTA 4

PREFACE

In the early stages of literature and science the symbols used are generally self-explanatory, but soon there comes a time when they become obscure. If at this stage there is a break in the tradition, the obscurity gradually increases until someone at last succeeds in unravelling the mystery. Thus in the marriage-hymn in RV. we find:

सोमः प्रथमो विविदे गन्धर्वो विविद उत्तरः ।
तृतीयो अग्निष्टे पतिस्तुरीयस्ते मनुष्यजाः ॥
सोमो ददद् गन्धर्वाय गन्धर्वो दददग्नये ।
रयिं च पुत्रांश्चादादग्निर्मह्यमथो इमाम् ॥

'Soma got her first, Gandharva got her next. Agni is your third husband and your fourth one born of man. Soma gave to Gandharva, Gandharva gave to Agni, Agni gave me wealth and sons and also this wife (x. 85. 40-41)'

The sense of these stanzas must have been perfectly clear to the seers of early days, but they became obscure later on and Sāyaṇa merely gives a running paraphrase without any attempt at explanation. There is hardly any doubt, however, that three stages in the physical development of woman are referred to here. A stanza in the Gṛhyā-Saṃgraha points in the same direction.

Again, take for instance the following stanza:

चत्वारि वाक् परिमिता पदानि
तानि विदुर्ब्राह्मणा ये मनीषिणः ।
गुहा त्रीणि निहिता नेङ्गयन्ति
तुरीयं वाचो मनुष्या वदन्ति ॥ १।१६४।४५

'Speech is measured in four quarters, the Brāhmaṇas

who are wise, know them. Three (of these quarters) are hidden and do not bestir themselves. It is the fourth quarter of speech that men speak.'

The explanation of this stanza found in ŚB. appears to be correct. The Brāhmaṇa enumerates four stages in the evolution of speech, the first being represented by the hissing of serpents, the second by the notes of birds, the third by the sounds of beasts and the fourth by the speech of men:

तदेतत् तुरीयं वाचोऽनिरुक्तं यन्मनुष्या वदन्ति। अथैतत् तुरीयं वाचोऽनिरुक्तं यत् पशवो वदन्ति। अथैतत् तुरीयं वाचोऽनिरुक्तं यद्वयांसि वदन्ति। अथैतत् तुरीयं वाचोऽनिरुक्तं यदिदं क्षुद्रं सरीसृपं वदति। ४।१।३।१६

The various explanations of "catvāri padāni" in Nir. xiii. 9 would lead one to think that in this case also the real meaning had become obscure, though not to so great an extent as in the case of RV. x. 85.40-41. The Nirukta (Pariśiṣṭa) says (xiii. 7):

कतमानि तानि चत्वारि पदानि ?
ओङ्कारो महाव्याहृतयश्चेत्यार्षम्।
नामाख्याते चोपसर्गनिपाताश्चेति वैयाकरणाः।
मन्त्रः कल्पो ब्राह्मणं चतुर्थी व्यावहारिकीति याज्ञिकाः।
ऋचो यजूंषि सामानि चतुर्थी व्यावहारिकीति नैरुक्ताः।
सर्पाणां वाग् वयसां क्षुद्रस्य सरीसृपस्य चतुर्थी व्यावहारिकीत्येके।
पशुषु तूणवेषु मृगेष्वात्मनि चेत्यात्मप्रवादाः।

अथापि ब्राह्मणं भवति—सा वै वाक् सृष्टा चतुर्धा व्यभवत्—एष्वेव लोकेषु त्रीणि, पशुषु तुरीयम्। या पृथिव्यां साग्नौ सा रथन्तरे। यान्तरिक्षे सा वायौ सा वामदेव्ये। या दिवि सादित्ये सा बृहति सा स्तनयित्नौ। अथ पशुषु। ततो या वागत्यरिच्यत तां ब्राह्मणेष्वदधुः।

तस्माद् ब्राह्मणा उभयीं वाचं वदन्ति—या च देवानां या च मनुष्याणामिति ।

In the Mahābhāṣya Patañjali naturally explains "catāvri padāni" as "catvāri padajātāni-nāmākhyate copasarga-nipātāś ca". According to Bhartṛhari the reference is to the parā, paśyantí, madhyamā and vaikharí varieties of speech. This is a fairly late idea and must be rejected on that account.

Again there is the stanza in the Rgveda (iv. 58. 3):

चत्वारि शृङ्गा त्रयो अस्य पादा
द्वे शीर्षे सप्त हस्तासो अस्य ।
त्रिधा बद्धो वृषभो रोरवीति
महो देवो मर्त्याँ आ विवश ॥

'Four horns, three feet are his, two heads, seven hands are his. Bound threefold, the bull roars. The great God has entered the mortals.'

There is hardly any doubt that Soma is the great God mentioned here. In the first place the hymn is addressed to Soma. Secondly, Soma is often spoken of as entering mortals; e.g., "amartyo martyā āviveśa" viii. 48. 12. Thirdly, "the sound made by the trickling Soma is often alluded to, generally in hyperbolical language, with verbs meaning to roar or bellow or even thunder; he is thus commonly called bull among waters, which figure as cows" (Macdonell).

But the sense appears to have been lost sight of long ago. Acc. to the Nirukta Pariśiṣṭa the great God is the sacrifice. Acc. to the Mahābhāṣya He is Śabda. Acc. to others He is the Sun.

Let us now take an instance from another sphere. Most people are not aware that the bishop's mitre is a modified

representation of a fish's head, the fish being a symbol much used by early Christians, for "that which is occult hath the fish for a symbol; for the fish is hidden in darkness and silence: he knows the secret places of the earth and the springs of the hollow sea."

In exactly the same way the technical terms of Sanskrit grammar became meaningless after a time. Even such pre-eminently self-explanatory terms as Parasmaipada and Ātmanepada are dubbed "niranvayā saṃjñā" by a commentator of the Kātantra of all people (p. 106), of the Kātantra which, more than any other system, preserved the ancient self-explanatory terms. And commentators rack their brains in vain for a rational explanation of the gigantic "Sarvanāmasthāna" which, by a curious irony of fate, has been dislodged from its rightful position in the Kātantra system and has found hospitable refuge in the system of Pāṇini (p. 36). Since in Pāṇini the suffixes -śatṛ, -kvasu, -īyasun etc. are without *n*, the name Sarvanāmasthāna (lit. 'in which the entire name is preserved') loses all significance in this system, but since the suffixes are read with *n* in the Kātantra, the name is particularly suitable for that system, where, however, it has been replaced by the mono-syllabic "dhuṭ". Most of the commentators of Pāṇini have failed to find any meaning in the term for the simple reason that they are without any sense of historical perspective and do not take into account the fact that names perfectly significant in one system may be borrowed and become meaningless in another. The English word 'accent' is a case in point. Derived from *ad* 'to' and *cantus* 'singing, tone, melody' from *cantum* past participle of *canere* "to sing", it is a literal translation of Greek *prosoidia* 'a song sung to an instrumental or vocal accompaniment' from *pros* 'added

to' and *oide* 'song', and is therefore applicable to musical or pitch accent only. But though in Latin and English the stress accent is predominant, still the word 'accent' is used. At the present moment many Indian scholars are exercised over the problem of finding out a suitable term for 'stress accent' in the Indian languages. With the example of the English word "accent" before us we can easily use "udātta" for "accented" and "nihata" for "unaccented".

To take another instance, the word 'Easter' is derived from Anglo-Saxon *Eostre, Eastre,* a pagan goddess of light and spring whose festival came off on the spring Equinox. In English the pagan word is used for the Christian festival commemorating the resurrection of Christ.

In this book an attempt has been made to trace the technical terms generally used in the different systems of Sanskrit grammar back to their sources and to give rational explanations of them. Even such apparently arbitrary technical terms as "laṭ", "bha", etc. have been found on examination to admit of acceptable explanations. In Bengal we have been accustomed to regard the technical terms of the Mugdhabodha as most arbitrary, but a careful study of these terms reveals the fact that they are in most cases borrowed from or modelled upon those found in the Jainendra Vyākaraṇa and are susceptible of rational explanation.

In Sanskrit "ac" and "hal" have stood for vowels and consonants respectively at least from the time of Pāṇini and they are formed acc. to the "principle of the forceps" (sandaṃśa-nyāya), by taking two letters from the Śivasūtras acc. to Pāṇini's rule "ādir antyena sahetā" i. 1. 71, yet the commentators of the Prayogaratnamālā, following the noble example of the Uṇādi-sūtras and under

the impression that any possible (or impossible) derivation may be suggested for names ("saṃjñā-śabdā yathā-kathañcid vyutpādyāh") explain them thus:

अच् गतौ क्विप्। प्रभाप्रकाशिका। १।७। हल् गतौ। हलन्ति स्वरानुगतं गच्छन्तीति क्विप्। गूढ़प्रकाशिका १।१९।

Owing to the difficulties created by the communal riots which caused widespread dislocation, this book had to be printed in a press which, though one of the finest printing presses in Calcutta, was not properly equipped for the printing of technical works of this type and so the printing leaves much to be desired. Following the principle "madhyabhāve guḍam dadyāt" *i* had to be used for the long *i*, *n·* for the guttural nasal, mere *l* for the sonant *l* and mere *h* for Visarjanīya; no diacritical marks could be used with most of the capital letters and in Greek and Latin words *e* and *o* had to be used for both the long and short varieties. It was, moreover, a capital mistake to have the book set up in linotype which did not afford much facility for correction of proofs and this was aggravated by the work having to be entrusted to compositors not familiar with this type of work. It is quite possible that owing to these and other causes a number of errors have remained uncorrected, especially in the numbering of the rules of grammars. Only those which have been detected at a cursory glance have been mentioned in the Errata. A full list of errors will be appended to part II which will come out next year.

KSHITISH CHANDRA CHATTERJI.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.
September, 1948.

CONTENTS

Technical terms of Sanskrit Grammar—Brevity the soul of grammar—views of different commentators on brevity—brevity of expression, brevity of sense, brevity of process 1

Names of Moods and Tenses—nothing is arbitrary in language—names of moods and tenses in AB. and KB.—Naigami, the older name of the subjunctive—meaning of Pañcamí and Saptamí in K.—peculiar names in Mu. and PR.—the names of the ten Mahāvidyās stand for the ten Lakāras—the order of the verbal endings in Sanskrit and Greek—"viprateṣedhe paraṃ kāryam". 8

Guṇa—views of Āpiśali—earlier senses—found first in the Nirukta—"ep" in J., "ṇu" in Mu. and Govinda in HN.—definitions in different systems—Vṛddhi—not found in the Prātiśākhyas, nor in Nir.—"aip" in J., "vri" in Mu. and Vṛṣṇíndra in HN.—definitions — interesting stanzas — Samprasāraṇa—earlier senses—Prasāraṇa—"nu" in ST., "ji" in Mu. "Saṃkarṣaṇa" in HN.—Prasāraṇa again—rules 18

Vṛddha—Yamanvā in PS., "du" in J., Ādivṛṣṇídra in HN.—rules—interesting stanzas ... 29

Bhūtakaraṇa—syllabic augment and temporal augment—commentators of K. groping in the dark. ... 31

Strong, middle and weak endings—Sarvanāmasthāna—views of Jinendrabuddhi, Haradatta, Bhaṭṭoji—Nārāyaṇa and Sṛṣṭidhara give correct explanations—brevity once more—śatṛ and anti—"pañcapadí" in CA., "suṭ" in P., "ghuṭ" in K., Hc. and PR., "dha" in J., "ghi" in Mu., "catur" in Sār.—different rules—Pada—earlier senses—Padapāṭha—"da" in RT., ST. and Mu., "Viṣṇupada" in HN.—"parvan" in VP.—Bha—origin—lucus a non lucendo—"pi" in Mu., Bhagavat in HN., "pi," "bhi" and "ghi" of Mu.—rules. 33

Sārvadhātuka—fem. in Āpiśali—derivation—"ga" in J., "śit" in HC., "catur" in Sam., "ra" in Mu., and Kṛṣṇadhātuka in HN.—rules. 44

Ti—probable origin—saṃsāra in HN.—rules. ... 48

Ghu—probable origin—"dā" in K. and Mu., "bhu" in J., "Dāmodara" in HN.—rules—interesting stanzas 49

Gha—"jha" in J., "na" in Śāk.—rules. ... 51

Nāyaka words—"Kṛṣṇa" in HN.—"śraddhā" in K. and PR., "Rādhā" in HN.—"agni" in K. and PR., "ghi" in Pāṇini, Śāk. and Su.—"nadí" in Pāṇini, K. and PR., "gopí" in HN., "mu" in J. and "dí" in Mu.—rules—interesting stanzas. 52

Prātipadika—commentators unable to explain—Sṛṣṭidhara's views—"lin·ga" in K.—"nāman" in Nir., BD. and the Prātiśākhyas—"nāmakaraṇa" denotes kṛt in Nir. and Saṃjñā in PR.—nāmavibhakti in Nir.—nāmadhātu—nati—four parts of speech—phiṣ in P.S.—rules. 57

Sarvanāman—early occurrences—Mbh. — Whitney—another sense—"sni" in J., "sri" in Mu., "Kṛṣṇanāman" in HN., "sarvādi" in C., Śāk. and Hc. —rules—sarvanāman vs. Gk. antonumia and Lat. pronomen. 63

Ākhyāta—various definitions of the verbs in Eastern and Western grammars—two senses—a passage from the Kādambarí. 66

Dhātu—original sense—early occurrences in GB. and BD.—"dhu" in J. and Mu.—rules—interesting stanzas. 70

Abhyāsa—in KSS. and Nir.—abhyasta in Nir.—"ca" and "tha" in J., "Nara" and "Nārāyaṇa" in HN.—rules. 73

Pratyaya—earlier sense—in RP., VP., Nir., CA. —earlier names, antakaraṇa and upabandha—prakṛti —interesting stanzas—the suffix *-bahuc*—rules ... 76

Apṛkta—in the Prātiśākhyas and Pāṇini ... 82

Kṛt—kṛtya—technical terms from the root kṛ—early occurrences—rules 84

Kṛtya—explanation in the Prakriyāsarvasva—"vya" in J., "lya" in Mu., "ghyap" in Śāk., "Viṣṇukṛtya" in HN.—rules—interesting stanza ... 87

Niṣṭhā—originally nihṣṭhā—earlier sense—"ta" in J., "kta" in Śāk., "ktādi" in Sār., "Viṣṇuniṣṭhā" in HN.,—sat, Acyūtābha in HN.—Adhokṣajābha in HN. for the perfect participles 88

Taddhita—significance—"ekaparvan" and "anekaparvan" taddhita—ṣyat in Śāk. for fem. suffixes ... 91

Tadrāja—"ñyādi" in C., "dri" in J., "vri" in Śāk.—rules 94

Gotra and Yuvan 95

Upagraha—"parasmaipada" and "ātmanepada" in Pāṇini—earlier "parasmaibhāṣā" and "ātmanebhāṣā"—"da" and "ma" in J., "pa" and "ma" in Mu.—often shortened into "parasmai" and "ātmane" in K., Sam. etc.—"parapada" and "ātmapada" in HN.—explained by Suṣeṇa, Śrīpati, Taraporevala—rules 97

Nivṛttisthāna—in Nir. for "guṇavṛddhinivṛttisthāna"—"atanu" in PR.,—saṃkrama in Mbh., kn·it in Pāṇini—Pṛthu, Kapila, Nirguṇa and Kaṃsāri in HN. 107

Vikaraṇa—interesting stanza 112

Gender—vṛṣan for masc. and yoṣā for fem.——gender in AB., ŚB., Nir. and the Prātiśākhyas—Max-Müller's view refuted—nap, klība—lin·ga in the sense of prātipadika—interesting stanzas—number—early occurrences—in Gk. and Lat.—saṃkhyā—kva, dva and vva in Mu.—rules—puruṣa, person—rules ... 117

Anubandha—it—explanations of different anubandhas 131

Upadhā—earlier sense—later use—un· in J. and Mu., Uddhava in HN.—udaya—anuṣan·ga—āvṛtti, anuṣan·ga, anuvṛtti and adhyāhāra 137

Saṃhita and Sandhi—Sandhāna—sandhyakṣara—definitions—interesting stanza 142

Different varieties of Sandhi—anvakṣara (anuloma and pratiloma) — anvakṣara-sandhi-vaktra — Śauddhākṣara — Praślisṭa — Kśaipra — Bhugna — Ābhinihita — Vivṛtti — Dírgha Vivṛtti — Dviṣandhi Vivṛtti — Antahpada Vivṛtti — Padavṛtti — Udgrāha — Udgrāha Padavṛtti — Udgrāhavat — Upadruta—Prācya Padavṛtti — Pañcāla Padavṛtti — Pragrhítapadā Saṃhitā — Plutopadhā Vivṛtti — Anunāsikopadhā Vivṛtti — Ānpadā padavṛtti—Vivṛttyabhiprāya —Sāmavaśa Sandhi (see also p. 319) — Āsthāpita (avaśan·gama and vaśan·gama), Paripanna. Antahpāta, Niyata, Repha, Akāma, Praśṛta, Uṣma-sandhi (vyāpanna and vikrānta), Upācarita, Anānupūrvya Saṃhitā—Sparśa-repha-sandhi—Nati 150

Pragṛhya and Pragraha—rules — interesting stanzas 171

Aksara—varṇa — samānākṣara and sandhyakṣara "sim" in VP.—rules—interesting stanzas ... 175

Svara and Vyañjana 184

Hrasva, dírgha and pluta—"pra", "dí", and "pa" in J.; "sva", "rgha" and "plu" in Mu.; Vāmana, Trivikrama and Mahāpuruṣa in HN. ... 189

Guru and Laghu—"ghu" and "ru" in Mu.—"ghu" in Mbh. means "uttarapada"—interesting stanza 193

Nāmin — nantṛ — nati — vināma — bhāvin —Iśvara in HN. ...— 196

Śabda — ghoṣa — dhvani — nāda — aghoṣa — — ghoṣavat — śvāsa and nāda — "dhuṭ" of K. — whether 'svara's are included in 'ghoṣavat' or not—rules 198

Usman—śiṭ in K. and Hc., śādi in Sam., Harigotra in HN.—siṭ of PS.—anūṣmavat, soṣmavat, aghoṣavat — rules — alpaprāṇa and mahāprāṇa—interesting stanza 207

Anunāsika — ran·ga — nāsikya — uttama ... 211

Ayogavāha—yogavāha in the Kātantra School ... 215

Anusvāra—"nu" in Mu. 219

Visarjanīya — visṛṣṭa — "visarga" much later —"vi" in Mu. 223

Jihvāmūlīya 227

Upadhmānīya 228

Antasthā — earlier "antahsthā" — "antastha" much later — explanation acc. to Indian and foreign scholars 251

Sparśa 234

Varga—"kakāra-varga" in the early Prātiśākhyas, "kavarga" in later ones and K., "ku" in Pāṇini—origin of the anubandha *u* 236

Varna and Savarṇa—"arṇa" of PR.—"sasthāna" in C., "sva" in J. 239

The suffix - **Kāra**—rules—interesting stanzas ... 245

Repha—origin—interesting stanzas 249

Saṃkhyā and sas—"ḍu" in Mbh. 252

Avasāna—virāma—mahāvirāma 254

Kāryin—Kārya and Nimitta—rules of Pāṇini and K. in verse form—*na vā* and *vā* in K.—'aśrāddhabhojī Brāhmaṇah'. 257

Ādeśa—āgama—vikāra (see p. 262)—"Viriñci" and "Viṣṇu" in HN., Upajana earlier name of ādeśa —case-endings to denote āgama and ādeśa 273

Sthānin—interesting stanzas 277

Upajana, Upapada and Upabandha — "vāk" for Upapada in J. 280

Lopa, Luk and Lup 285

Akṛtigaṇa and Paripūrṇagaṇa — interesting stanzas 293

Utsarga and Apavāda—interesting stanzas ... 296

Antaran·ga and Bahiran·ga — interesting stanzas 299

Additions 301

ABBREVIATIONS.

AA.—Aitareya Āraṇyaka. AB.—Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. APr.—Atharva-Veda-Prātiśākhya (ed. Suryakanta). Apr.—Atharva-Veda-Prātiśākhya (ed. Visvabandhu). Arm.—Armenian. ASS. — Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra. AV. — Atharva-Veda. BD.—Bṛhad-Devatā of Śaunaka. C.—Candra or Cāndra Vyākaraṇa. CA.—Caturadhyāyikā (Atharva-Veda-Prātiśākhya ed. Whitney). Gk.—Greek. Gṛ. Su.—Gṛhya Sūtra. Hc.—Hemacandra or Haimaśabdānuśāsana. HN.—Harināmāmṛta Vyākaraṇa of Jīva Gosvāmin. I. E.—Indo-European. J.—Jainendra Vyākaraṇa of Devanandin (with Śabdārthacandrikā). JUB.—Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa. K.—Kātantra Vyākaraṇa of Sarvavarman (ed. Liebich). KB.—Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa. Mbh.—Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali. Mu.—Mugdhabodha Vyākaraṇa of Vopadeva (edited with the commentaries of Rāma Tarkavāgīśa and Durga dāsa by Siva Nārāyaṇa Śiromaṇi). M. W.—Monier Williams or his Dictionary. Nir.—Nirukta of Yāska (ed. Śivadatta Śarma). P.—Pāṇini. PR.—Prayoga-Ratnamālā Vyākaraṇa of Puruṣottama with the commentaries Prabhā-prakāśikā and Gūḍhaprakāśikā. P. S.—Phiṭ-Sūtra of Śāntanavācārya (ed. Kielhorn). RP.—Rk-Prātiśākhya (Text and translation ed. Mangala Deva Śāstrin). RT.—Rktantra Vyākaraṇa (A Prātiśākhya of the Sāmaveda ed. Suryakanta). RV.—RgVeda. Sam.—Saṃkṣiptasāra Vyākaraṇa of Kramadīśvara with the Vṛtti revised by Jumaranandin and the commentary of Goyīcandra—(ed. Śyāmā Caraṇa Kaviratna). Śāk.—Abhinava Śākaṭāyana or Sākaṭāyana Vyākaraṇa (Lazarus & Co). Sār.—Sārasvata Vyākaraṇa (Nirnaya Sagara Press and MS. of the original Sūtrapāṭha in the

Bhankarkar Institute, Poona). ŚB.—Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (Venkateśvara Press). SK.—Siddhānta-Kaumudí. Skt.—Sanskrit. ST.—Sāma-tantra. SV.—Sama-Veda. TA.—Taittiríya Āraṇyaka. TB.—Taittiríya Brāhmaṇa. TP.—Taitiríya Prātiśākhya. U.—Upaniṣad. VP.—Vājasaneyi-Prātiśkhya. VS.—Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā. Y. AV.—Younger Avesta.

अ प्रा—अथर्ववेदप्रातिशाख्यम् (सूर्यकान्तेन संस्कृतम्)। ऋ त—ऋक्तन्त्रव्याकरणम्। ऋ प्रा—ऋक्प्रातिशाख्यम्। का—कातन्त्र-व्याकरणम्। कौ—कौटिलीयार्थशास्त्रम्। च—चान्द्रव्याकरणम्। जै—जैनेन्द्रव्याकरणम्। तै प्रा—तैत्तिरीय-प्रातिशाख्यम्। नि—निरुक्तम्। पा—पाणिनिव्याकरणम्। प्र—प्रयोगरत्नमालाव्याकरणम्। मु—मुग्ध-बोधं व्याकरणम्। वा प्रा—वाजसनेयिप्रातिशाख्यम्। शा—शाकटायन-व्याकरणम्। शि सू—शिवसूत्रम् (महाभाष्यम्)। स (सं)—संक्षिप्तसार-व्याकरणम्। सा—सारस्वतव्याकरणम्। सि कौ—सिद्धान्तकौमुदी। सु—सुपद्मव्याकरणम्। सु र भा—सुभाषितरत्नभाण्डागारम्। ह—हरि-नामामृतव्याकरणम्। हे—हेमचन्द्रशब्दानुशासनम्।

English translations within double inverted commas of AA., AB., KB. and TS. are from Keith, of RP. from Sastri, of TP. and CA. from Whitney, of RT. and APr. from Suryakanta, of the Naiṣaddha from Handiqui.

CORRECTIONS.

P. 2, ll. 17-18, omit the portion within brackets.

P. 10, l. 22, read Kauṣitaki-.

P. 11, fn., for अं प्रां ३।११ read अं प्रां २।७

P. 14, l. 15, read Dhūmāvatí.

P. 21, l. 20, read अरपूर्वे ...iv. 4. 34.

P. 21, l. 22, read iii. 3. 2.

P. 26, fn., read पादादौ च पदादौ च

P. 29, l. 3, for 5. 36 read 536.

P. 29, l. 5, read सपर-सर्वेश्वर-यवराणामि-उ-ऋ...

P. 43, l. 10, for lucas read lucus.

P. 53, l. 26, for स्त्राख्यौ read स्त्र्याख्यौ

P. 71, fn., l. 3, for भूवो read भुवो

P. 82. l. 21, for उपोद्धातः read उपोद्घातः

P. 111, l. 13, for vṛscati read vṛścati.

P. 118, fn. for योषा घे read योषा वै

P. 115, l. 12, for पुरस्तात् read पुरस्तात्तु

P. 179, last line, read जैमिनीयोपनिषद्ब्राह्मणम्

P. 204, last line. The correct reading would appear to be कुक्कुटः पिप्पली पित्तम् which, as Kielhorn notes, is the reading in Goldstücker's MS. Under I. 26. 20 we find in the prited editions: तुल्यरूपे संयोगे द्विव्यञ्जनाश्रयो विधिर्न सिध्यति। कुक्कुटः पिप्पलः पित्तमिति।

P. 221 last line but one, for आनुनासिक्य read आनुनासिक्यं

P. 253, l. 27 and l. 29. There should be a dot below D.

ERRATA.

P. iii, l. 13. For विवश read विवेश

P. 14, l. 2. The root "bhū" is taken as the type and since the imperfect form "abhavat" is longer than the Aorist "abhūt", the imperfect is denoted by the longer term Bhūteśvara and the Aorist by Bhūteśa.

P. 15, ll. 4-5. Read: including Hemacandra who merely inverts the order of Āśíh and Śvastaní. In K. Āśíh is connected acc. to the madhyamaṇi-nyāya with both Śvastaní and Bhaviṣyantí. Hc. wants to place one future immediately after the other and so reads Āśíh after Parokṣā. Mu. follows K., HN. follows Hc., J. and Śāk. (who merely uses Leṭ for Loṭ and Len· for Lin· to denote them by the common syllable "le" for purposes of the designation "ślela") follows Pāṇini.

P. 15, l. 21. Cf. Mbh. i. 3. 1: अथवा नान्तरेण क्रियां भूतभविष्यद्वर्त्तमानाः काला व्यज्यन्ते ।

P. 36, l. 30. For endings read and weak endings.

P. 37, bottom. For the sentence beginning with 'Ghi' is used read: In the language of mathematics "dhana" means *plus* and "ṛṇa" *minus*. Since an additional element, *n* for instance, makes its appearance in many cases in the Sarvanāmasthāna Vibhaktis, "dha", the first syllable of "dhana", is used to denote them.

P. 38, l. 16. After utterance add: because "*kti*", the term for the generic word "vibhakti", ends in *i*.

P. 39, l. 2. Add: Cf. Bhāgavata Purāṇa i. 3. 28:

एते चांशकलाः पुंसः कृष्णस्तु भगवान् स्वयम् ।

P. 39. After l. 7 add: स । जस्वच्छिः । ६।१०१

P. 39, l. 23. For vicakrame read vi cakrame.

P. 44, l. 2. Read: round it off, because "li", the term for Prātipadika, ends in *i*.

P. 44, top, p. 256 bottom. The terms "pha" and "bhi" are peculiar to Mu. Many grammatical operations take

place in pausa or before consonants (virāma-vyañjanādiṣu—K., hali padānte—P.). So a technical term covering these two would come in very handy. One expected Vopadeva to use *va* for this purpose, since the semi-vowel *v* occurs at the beginning of both 'virāma' and 'vyañjana', but that is not possible as *va* is required to designate "avyayíbhāva". So Vopadeva combined the *p* of 'padānte' with the *ha* of 'hali' and formed the technical term *pha*. It is interesting to note in this connexion that the term is used for the first time in the rule "sror vih phe" 103 which has to do with 'repha', and *pha* is the second syllable of 'repha'.

"Bhi" is formed with the *bhi* contained in 'bhyām' and 'bhis' and denotes those endings and suffixes before which Pāṇini prescribes pada-saṃjñā. But Vopadeva's definition of 'bhi' is peculiar. He says that the grammatical operations prescribed before *bhi* are to be understood as taking place when a consonant follows in the case of prātipadikas and when a consonant except nasals and semi-vowels follows in the case of roots. The influence of K. is clearly traceable here. In K. certain grammatical operations are prescribed in the section on declension before "virāma" and "vyañjana" (K. ii. 3. 44 ff). Many of these operations are prescribed before "dhuṭ" and "virāma" in the section on conjugation (iv. 2. 54 ff.).

P. 46, l. 23. "Lyaśl" is used for Ārdhadhātuka (iv. 2. 81 ff.), "li" standing for Liṭ and Lin· (Pāṇini's "lin· āśiṣi") and "ś" for "śit".

P. 47, l. 3. For it read *r*.

P. 48, l. 27. Add: vi. 224.

P. 48, bottom, p. 293, l. 9. For Lopa, Luk and Lup the terms used in HN. are Hara, Mahāhara and Smarahara. Since in cases of elision by Luk the Paribhāṣā "pratyaya-lope pratyaya-lakṣaṇam" does not apply and consequently the lopa is irrevocable, the term Mahāhara is used. Smarahara literally means 'the remover or slayer of Cupid'. Now since Cupid, even though reduced to ashes by Śiva, received back his body after a time, Lup in which the number and gender of the stem are restored to it is known as Smarahara. (Taddhita-section 363).

यत्र प्रकृतिलिङ्गस्य तद्वचनस्य च प्रत्यावृत्तिः, यत्र च हरीतक्यादिषु

तल्लिङ्गस्यैव, खलतिकादिषु वचनस्यैव, समासे तु बहुवचनविषयोत्तर-पदसम्बन्धिनोरेव तयोः प्रत्यावृत्तिः, स महाहरः स्मरहरसंज्ञः, लुवित्यन्ये।

Now since the ṭi-portion of a stem undergoes elision before certain suffixes and since the term for elision is Hara and since Śiva is the cause of the destruction of the world, Pāṇini's Ṭi is termed Saṃsāra in this system. Thus we have the rule "saṃsārasya haraś citi" *i.e.*, before a suffix with an indicatory *c*, the ṭi-portion of a word is dropped. The rule at the same time conveys the idea that the cycle of births and deaths is terminated by the advent of true knowledge.

P. 49. GHU. Since the most important "dā" and "dhā" are read in the Dhātupāṭha with an indicatory *ḍu*, and since "dā" contains a voiced element and "dhā" an additional aspirate element, one naturally thinks of *dhu* as the best designation for both varieties. But since there is a separate root *dhu*, Pāṇini takes the first voiced aspirate of the ordinary alphabet according to the principle "prathamopasthitasya parityāge kāraṇābhāvāt" and adds the vowel *u* to it. J. substitutes *bhu* for *ghu*, probably because it is closely allied to the root *bhū* which represents both itself and *as* before ārdhadhātuka endings and suffixes.

P. 51. GHA. It is just possible that since the letter *gh* has two elements—voice and aspiration, it was chosen to represent the two suffixes -tara and -tama which are added to two classes of words—subanta and tin·anta, *gha* being the first letter of the alphabet to contain these two elements. J. thought that though *gh* was the first voiced aspirate in the ordinary alphabet, *jh* was the first in this respect in the Pratyāhāra-sūtras, consequently he used "jha" for Pāṇini's "gha". Śāk. took the "n·" of "tin·" and represented the two suffixes by "n·a" because they were added to *tin·* also.

P. 51, l. 16. For *na* read *n·*, and delete the sentence beginning with Could this.

P. 51, last line. For नः read ङः.

P. 53, top. For Nadí Śāk. generally uses "nityāṭ". C. uses "idut" for "ghi".

P. 58, l. 32, p. 92, l. 1. For "mṛt" read "mṛd".

P. 59, ll. 1-2. Read: the *m* of Nāman and the *d* of Prātipadika and shaping it after the pattern of "kṛt" and "hṛt" (Taddhita suffix) and at the same time making up a common word expressive of meaning. In the etc.

P. 63, l. 7. For क्त्यान्तान्यौ read क्त्यन्तान्यौ

P. 65, l. 18. Read "sri". Kramadīśvara defines Sarvanāman in the Kārikā:

सर्वादिः सर्वनाम स्याद्बाल्पादिर्जसि नान्यतः ।

तीयश्च ङिति पूर्वादिर्ङसिङ्योर्वान्यतः सदा ॥ स ६।२९३

P. 71, l. 9. For found read found in this sense.

P. 72. C. uses "kriyärtha" for "dhātu". Cf. C. i. 1. 40 with Pāṇini iii. 1. 22. Śāk. often has "edhādi", because his Dhātupāṭha begins with the root *edh*.

P. 74. After l. 23 add: following in the footsteps of C. (nājjheh śatuh v. 4. 32)..

P. 75, l. 6. Read: 'khaṇḍa' with the vowel *i* because "dvi", which is Mu.'s term for "abhyasta" and which is evidently the first syllable of "dvir ukta", ends in *i*.

P. 75, l. 8. For an·e-hihano read an·e hi-hano.

P. 75, l. 25. For द्वः read द्वे:

P. 77. Delete ll. 21-22.

P. 80, l. 19. After different add: and dig their own graves (vināśa astram).

P. 80, l. 21. For root read (root).

P. 80, l. 22. For suffix read (suffix).

P. 86, l. 17. For पुर्वेण read पूर्वेण.

P. 87, bottom. Add: Sam. uses Kṛtya in v. 38.

P. 94, l. 15. Add after "vri".: The first example given in the commentaries is Videhānāṃ rājā. Śāk. evidently takes the *v* of Videha and *r* of rājan and like J. adds the vowel *i* for ease of utterance.

P. 95, l. 2. Add: द्रिः ३।२।१९९

P. 95, l. 3. Add: त्रिर्त्रोऽमुख्यकात् पूगात् ३।४।१८१

P. 95, l. 4. Add: पूगादमुख्याच्च त्रयो द्रिः ७।३।६०

P. 97, after l. 2 add:

सु। पौत्राद्यपत्यं गोत्रम्। जीवति वंश्ये युवाग्रजेऽपि। पितृव्यादौ वा वयोऽधिके। वृद्धश्च पूजायाम्, युवा च निन्दायाम्। ५।२।११८-१२२

ग्र। पौत्राद्यपत्यं गोत्रं तज्जीवत्पित्रादिकं युवा। गोत्रमेव पूर्वाचार्यैर्वृद्धमित्युच्यते। ७।१०००

ह। पित्रादौ जीवति पौत्रादेरपत्यं युवसंज्ञम्। ज्येष्ठभ्रातरि जीवति कनिष्ठश्च। अन्यस्मिन् सपिण्डे ज्येष्ठे युवा। तद्धित २९९

पौत्रप्रभृत्यपत्यं गोत्रम्। तद्धित २९०

P. 103 top. In C's Dhātupāṭha P. roots are described as "a-tan·āninah", Ā. roots as "tan·āninah" and U. roots as "vibhāṣitāh".

P. 103, l. 10. For Parasmaipada, Śāk. uses "atan·".

P. 104, l. 9. For śan- read san-.

P. 106, l. 15. Read: च। तङाना यथापाठम्। भावाप्ययोः (=भावकर्मणोः)। ङितः। १।४।४६-४८

P. 106, l. 25. Read: २।१३२, शेषात् परस्मै। २।१७०, कतर्यनुदात्त-ङिद्यनायाम्। २।२५

P. 123, l. 6, P. 224, l. 5. "Klība" and "visarga" are used by earlier writers also. Thus "klība" is found frequently in the Amarakoṣa of Amarasiṃha, to whom an honoured place among the grammarians has been given by Vopadeva in his Kavikalpadruma. At the very beginning of his work Amara mentions the three genders *strī*, *puṃs* and *napuṃsaka* (i. 1. 3), but uses *klība* in i. 1. 6. "Klībatā" is found in the Kāśikā of Jayāditya who, it is interesting to note in this connexion, makes a half-hearted attempt to defend "kutra" found in Amara. "Klībatā" occurs in the Kāśikā on ii. 4. 18 in the three Vārttikas: (1) puṇyasudinābhyām ahnah klībateṣyate. (2) pathah saṃkhyāvyayādeh klībateṣyate. (3) kriyāviśeṣaṇānāṃ ca klībateṣyate. In the present state of our knowledge it is difficult to determine whether these are Jayāditya's own Vārttikas or borrowed from some previous work. In the form in which

they occur in Mbh., C. and J. we find napuṃsaka and nap. Similarly "visarga", as M. Renou points out, occurs in the Pratijñā-pariśiṣṭa-sūtra as a generic term for the three voiceless spirants—visarjanīya, jihvāmūlīya and upadhmānīya; and both visarga and visarjanīya are found in the Puṣpasūtra. It is probable that visarga was at first used for all the three voiceless spirants and only later came to be restricted to the visarjanīya. The reason why grammarians previous to Hc., bent as they were on securing lāghava, should have fought shy of these two short terms "klība" and "visarga" in their sūtras would appear to be that they were not deemed sufficiently elegant for a noble science like the Śabdānuśāsana, klība having too much to do with sex and visarga suggesting the voiding of excrement. Hence these words came to be widely used when the nice nuances of words had been altogether lost sight of and when one synonym was deemed as good as another.

P. 127, l. 7. For "Ekavacanam" read "Ekavacana."

P. 128, l. 10. For वयनादिः read वचनादिः.

P. 128, l. 16. Read: स। एकद्विबहुवचनं प्रथमादेरेकैकम् ५।४३

P. 130, l. 11. After पा add: तिङस्त्रीणि त्रीणि प्रथम-मध्यमोत्तमाः १।४।१०१

P. 136. After l. 4 add: Because of the "anu" of "anubandha" Pāṇini uses "anunāsika" to indicate "it" (upadeśe'j anunāsika it i. 3. 2).

P. 137. After l. 5 add:

ह। एति गच्छति न तिष्ठतीति इत् अनुबन्धश्च। स च उच्चारणार्थ-श्चिह्नार्थो विध्यादिनिमित्तश्च क्वचित्। २।१५३ वृत्तिः।

P. 138, l. 12. For off read: off, because "upānta" contains a nasal.

P. 139, l. 10. Cf. Naiṣadha iv. 3: तदुदितः स हि यो यदनन्तरः।

P. 149. After l. 7 add: सन्धिच्छेदः प्रगृह्येषु। कुट्टनीमत १३

P. 155, l. 15. For Praślisliṣṭa read Praślisṭa.

P. 156, l. 20. Read: कथम् ? प्रश्लिष्टनिर्देशोऽयम् ।

P. 171, last line. In Śāk. the substitutes prescribed in the case of the nominative and accusative duals of *i*- and *u*-stems, the nominative plural of *adas* etc. have an indicatory *g*, evidently suggested by "pragṛhya".

P. 191, last line. Add: The name Trivikrama would have been much more appropriate for Pluta. "Urugāya" or "Urukrama" might have been used for Dīrgha.

P. 196. After l. 7 add:

प्रकृतिलघोर्येन कृता जघन्यवर्णस्य गौरवापत्तिः ।

जघनचपला यदार्या स पिङ्गलस्ते कथं तुल्यः ॥ कुट्टनीमत ७५३

P. 207, l. 3. For आद्यद्वितयाः read आद्यद्वितीयाः.

P. 207, l. 5. For येषाममिशायी read येषामतिशायी.

P. 211. ANUNĀSIKA. See also M. Ghosh on the Pāṇiniya Śikṣā, pp. 65-67. Further discussion will be found under YAMA in Part II.

P. 228, l. 8. For "mu" read "mū".

P. 231, l. 3. For *krip* read *vic* or *kvip*.

P. 246. In the introductory chapter of RT. we find:

वर्ण इतेः पूर्वः काराद्वाख्यायाम् । व्यञ्जनमकारपूर्वात् । अकाराद्वा । रिति रेफः ।

P. 251, l. 1. Read: हे । रादेफः ।

P. 253, l. 5. For ṣṇāntāyah read ṣṇāntāyāh.

P. 254. Add after l. 10:

स । डत्यन्तादिश्च संख्या । तद्धित-परिशिष्ट १२७५

P. 256, ll. 9-17. Sometimes the words of our everyday speech appear to be too hackneyed and undignified for the needs of science and so learned words, even though they are longer and less understood than their synonyms, are used for purposes of science. It is for this reason that Adhikaraṇa is used as the name of the Loc. in preference to Ādhāra, Avasāna is preferred to Virāma and Vibhāṣā is used for na vā.

P. 257 ff. Several instances of contamination of the nominative with the genitive are met with in the Aṣṭādhyāyī. Thus in the rule "striyāh puṃvat....." vi. 3. 34

"striyāh puṃvad bhāṣitapuṃskād anūn·" is evidently a contamination of "strí puṃvad bhāṣitapuṃskād anūn·" and "striyāh puṃvad bhāṣitapuṃskād anūn·ah." It may be mentioned in this connexion that in other places in the Aṣṭādhyāyí "puṃvat" is construed with the nominative, *e.g.*, i. 2. 66, vii. 1. 74. The genitives in the prohibitive rules vi. 3. 37-41 can, on the other hand, be construed with the genitive "striyāh" only. In "Kurugārhapata-riktagurv-asūtajaraty-aślíladṛḍharūpā pārevaḍabā taitilakadrūh paṇya-kaṃbalo dāsíbhārāṇāṃ ca" vi. 2. 42 also we have the nominative mixed up with the genitive.

P. 260, l. 15. For KP. read Kātantra-Pariśiṣṭa.

P. 262, l. 18. Read: the kāryin is, as a rule, put.

P. 264, l. 23. For व्रते read व्रते

P. 266, l. 18. For प्रत्यन्तं read प्यन्तं।

P. 266, l. 19. Add:

प्रत्यन्तं गम्ये परे वाच्ये यस्मिन्नुपपदे हि तत्।

P. 271, l. 26. Read:

प्रधानम्, न क्रियांशः। श्राद्धभोजनशीलो ह्यतः कर्ता प्रतीयते, न

P. 272, l. 26. Read: तेषां दश समाना द्वौ ···

P. 279, ll. 2, 5. For *tātam* read *tātan·*.

P. 279, ll. 10-12. Read: 'Ah! making himself the substitute in the shape of Naiṣadha and also becoming the man Nala for the sake of the end in view (even in the case of a non-anal-vidhi), why etc.

P. 303, l. 28. For Pāṇini read K.

P. 304, l. 19. VP. also reads *ān·* with the anubandha *n·* in the list of Upasargas (vi. 24), and *et* and *ot* with the anubandha *t* (i. 114 etc.).

P. 305, l. 14. Omit the two sentences: Unlike...identical.

P. 312, last line. For 82 read 482.

P. 313, ll. 2-4. Read: कृतमर्थवदादि ··· तिबन्तभिन्नं ... तथापि प्रत्येकं वर्णेषु.

P. 318, l. 17. See Kavikalpadruma with the author's own commentary Kāvyakāmadhenu edited by K. C. Chatterji in the Calcutta Oriental Journal, Vol. I, No. 7, p. 10.

TECHNICAL TERMS AND TECHNIQUE OF SANSKRIT GRAMMAR.

The saṃjñās or technical terms of Pāṇini are divided by Patañjali* into two classes: kṛtrima or artificial and akṛtrima or natural. By kṛtrima he means terms not current in speech, but coined to meet the peculiar demands of particular sciences. By akṛtrima he means terms that are current in the language and that are, as a consequence, self-explanatory. The kṛtrima terms again fall into two groups: (i) those that appear to be entirely arbitrary like ṭi, ghu, bha etc., and (ii) those that are abbreviations of longer words with or without certain additions and alterations. And we may add a third category, though Patañjali would hardly include it under kṛtrima—those that are taken as the types of certain processes, e.g., kṛt, bahuvrihi, etc. Now what is self-explanatory in one stage of the language or to the followers of one system of grammar, becomes obscure in another stage of the language or to the followers of a different system of grammar. Thus sarvanāmasthāna must have been clear as day to the predecessors of Pāṇini but his successors generally failed to make any sense out of it.

There is another point which must not be lost sight of in dealing with Sanskrit grammar. In a highly inflected language like Sanskrit, grammar is an absolutely essential branch of study. And though in the early days people were gifted with prodigious memories, the demands of sacrifices

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* इह हि व्याकरणे ये चैते लोके प्रतीतपदार्थकाः शब्दास्तैर्निर्देशः क्रियते—पशुरपत्यं देवदत्त इति, याश्चैताः कृत्रिमाष्टिघुभसंज्ञास्ताभिः। Mahābhāṣya, ed. Kielhorn, Vol. I, p. 223 ll. 3-4.

and other things made them anxious to finish off the study of grammar proper in as short a period as possible. This gave rise to the principle of brevity which was followed more and more stringently by successive generations of grammarians. It is not without reason that Aśvaghoṣa describes grammarians as "akṣaracintaka."

Under "mātropajñopakramac-chāye napuṃsake" vi. 2. 14 the Kāśikā gives as an example: Āpiśalyupajñaṃ gurulāghavam.* From this it is clear that the principle of brevity in the domain of grammar was first fully enunciated by Āpiśali. It may be mentioned in this connexion that the name of Āpiśali is not found in the Nirukta, nor in any of the Prātiśākhyas, nor is Apiśali mentioned as the seer of any of the mantras of any of the Vedas. Another significant fact is that a fairly large number of the rules of Āpiśali have been preserved, though hardly a single one of any other predecessor of Pāṇini (we do not consider Kāśakṛtsna as a predecessor) has come down to us. It would therefore appear that the craze for brevity began shortly before the days of Pāṇini. But this brevity, it must be clearly understood, is concerned generally with the forms of rules only and has nothing to do with grammatical processes. In his enthusiasm for lāghava, Āpiśali regards the root *as* as *s*† and per-

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*Under iv. 3. 116 the Kāśikā says: काशकृत्स्नं गुरुलाघवम्।

†In classical Sanskrit the root *as* is conjugated only in the present, imperfect, imperative and optative active; of these 36 forms only 16 show the 'a', the remaining 20 are without 'a'. If we leave out the imperfect which shows 'ā' in each number and person then of the 27 forms only 7 show the 'a'. Āpiśali, therefore, thought that it would be more conducive to brevity, if we regard the root as *s* and prescribe the augment 'a' or 'ā' for the special cases. In exactly the same way Pāṇini regards the possessive secondary

petrates similar other absurdities. But the principle laid down by him was very sound. Pāṇini appears to steer a middle course between the two opposite extremes. He does not use monosyllabic technical terms like jit, mud etc., as found in VP., nor does he postulate a root *s* instead of *as;* but he does not disdain to use short technical terms like ṭi, ghu, gha, bha, laṭ, loṭ, lan etc., though retaining the older and bigger terms like prātipadika, sarvanāmasthāna, karmapravacaniya and upasarjana. Of the successors of Pāṇini, Sarvavarman follows an older school and generally avoids meaningless technical terms, though ghuṭ and dhuṭ and Pañcami and Saptami have made their way into his work also. Devanandin, the author of the Jainendra Vyākaraṇa, improved the system initiated probably by Āpiśali and elaborated in VP, RT. and ST. But the greatest name in this connexion is that of Vopadeva, the author of the Mugdhabodha, who followed the idea to its logical extreme and substituted monosyllables for all technical terms of more than one syllable. A discordant note was sounded later on by the author of the Harināmāmṛta who, intent on using the names of Hari and His associates as technical terms, casts to the winds all ideas of verbal brevity and says:

मात्रालाघवमात्रं पुत्रोत्सव इति परेऽभिमन्यन्ते ।
हरिनामाक्षरलाभाद् वयं त्वमूदृक् तिरस्कुर्मः ॥

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suffix as *-mat(u)* or *-vat(u)* instead of *-mant(u)* or *-vant(u)*, the present participial active suffix as *(ś)at(ṛ)* instead of *(ś)ant(ṛ)*, the perfect participial active suffix as *(k)vas(u)* instead of *(k)vans(u)* and so on, because the 'n' appears only in the strong cases and not in the middle and weak ones which are far more numerous. The Kātantra and its followers rightly regard the suffixes as *-mant(u)*, *-vant(u)*, *-(ś)ant(ṛn)* and *-vans(u)*.

i.e., the followers of the Pāṇini school regard the mere saving of a mora* as tantamount to the joy arising from the birth of a son. We, however, repudiate this view, since we (by our prolixity) obtain words designating Hari.

Other sectarian schools also hold the same view.

The general principle on which the abbreviated technical terms are based is enunciated by Goyicandra in his commentary on Saṃkṣiptasāra ii. 583:

पदाद्यवर्णेनापि पदं लक्ष्यते, यथा आकामावैष्वनन्तकम् इत्यत्र आकामादिवर्णैराषाढ़ी-कार्त्तिकी-माघी-वैशाख्याख्यास्तथेहापि लिवणन लिङ् लक्ष्यते।

This is evidently based on the following passage of the Mahābhāṣya (i. 1. 45):

दृश्यन्ते हि वाक्येषु वाक्यैकदेशान् प्रयुञ्जानाः, पदेषु च पदैकदेशान्। वाक्येषु तावद् वाक्यैकदेशान्—प्रविश पिण्डीम् [प्रविश गृहम्, भक्षय पिण्डीम्], प्रविश तर्पणम् [प्रविश गङ्गां, कुरु तर्पणम्]; पदेषु पदैकदेशान्—देवदत्तो दत्तः, सत्यभामा भामेति।

Similarly, Rāmānanda says in his commentary on Mugdhabodha i. 5:

अत्र सर्वशास्त्रप्रसिद्धाः संज्ञाः प्रायेणैकदेशेनोच्यन्ते तत्तत्-संज्ञास्मरणार्थम्, यथा स्वर्घप्लु इति ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतानां ग्रहणम्। संज्ञैकदेशेन च व्यवहारः शास्त्रेष्वपि प्रसिद्धः। यथा शास्त्रान्तरे दर्शितम्—आकामावैष्वनन्तकमिति आषाढ़ी-कार्त्तिकी-माघी-वैशाखीनां ग्रहणं स्मृतिषु।

Similarly, Durgādasa says in his commentary on the same rule:

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*A reference to the dictum: अर्धमात्रालाघवेन पुत्रोत्सवं मन्यन्तेवैयाकरणाः।

अत्र पूर्वाचार्यप्रसिद्धसंज्ञानामेकदेशविधानं तत्संज्ञास्मरणार्थम् तेन ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुता एव वक्तव्याः। एवमन्यत्रापि संक्षेपवक्तुः प्रसिद्धसंज्ञानामेकदेशविधानमविरुद्धं भवति, अत एव आकामावैष्वनन्तकमिति स्मृतिः।

Durga in his commentary on Kātantra i. 1. 15 says:

शिडिति पूर्वं संज्ञापदं निक्षिप्य इतिशब्देन सन्ताड्य यत् शादय इति संक्षिप्तेन निर्दिश्यन्ते, तदेवम्प्रकारा लघुसंज्ञा कर्तुं शक्यन्त एव। स्वरादयो ह्यन्वर्था नित्या इत्यन्वाख्यातव्याः। वृक्षशब्दस्य वृसङ्केतं क्षसङ्केतं वा कृत्वा व्यवहरतो लोके किं नाम वैदग्ध्यमस्तीत्यभिप्रायः।

Trilocana, the author of the Pañji, hits the nail right on the head when he says:

एतिदहाकूतम्—न वयं संज्ञान्तरं विधातुमुद्यताः, अपि तु पूर्वाचार्यप्रसिद्धसंज्ञाव्याख्याने कृतारम्भाः। ननु पूर्वाचार्या अपि वैयाकरणत्वाल्लाघवमभिलषन्तः किमिति गरीयसीः स्वरादिसंज्ञाः प्रणीतवन्त इति? सत्यम्, अन्वर्थत्वात् तासामिति। अयमर्थः—द्विविधं हि लाघवं भवति—शब्दकृतम् अर्थकृतञ्चेति। तत्रार्थकृतमेव लाघवं परार्थप्रवृत्तत्वात् तेषामभीष्टम्, अतः सर्ववर्मापि तथा प्रतिपादयति। न हि वृक्षशब्दस्य वृसङ्केतं क्षसङ्केतं वा कृत्वा व्यवहरतो वैदग्धी काचिदस्ति।

'There are two varieties of brevity—brevity in regard to sound and brevity in regard to sense. Of these it is the latter that is desired by them inasmuch as their purpose is to serve others. So Sarvavarman also expounds in that way. There is nothing clever in the use of language in which vṛ or kṣa is the symbol for vṛkṣa.'

Even Rāma Tarkavāgiśa, the great commentator of the Mugdhabodha, is forced to concede that sometimes brevity of sense is to be preferred to mere brevity of sound. Thus while explaining why Vopadeva uses 'aghau' instead of

'pau' in the rule "dhor ā-lopo'cyaghau" 121; Tarkavāgiśa says:

"तद्धेतोरेव तदस्तु किं तेन" इति न्यायात् क्वचिच्छब्दलाघवादथ-लाघवोऽपि (?) न्याय्यः (?)।

Under 'tad aśiṣyaṃ saṃjñā-pramāṇatvāt' i. 2. 53 Patañjali says: kiṃ yā etā kṛtrimāṣ ṭi-ghu-bhādi-saṃjñās tat-prāmāṇyād aśiṣyam? netyāha. saṃjñānaṃ saṃjñā. From this Goldstücker concludes that "such terms as ṭi, ghu and bha were known and settled before Pāṇini's grammar but that nevertheless, they are defined by Pāṇini because they are not etymological terms". (Ed. Panini Office, p. 127). We fail to see how such a conclusion can be drawn from the simple statement of the Bhāṣyakāra. In the present state of our knowledge it is very difficult to say whether ṭi, ghu, gha and bha existed before Pāṇini. They are not found in the Nirukta nor in any of the Prātiśākhyas, nor in the Kātantra. Burnell accepts Goldstücker's conclusion and points out "similar symbols occur in the Kātantra and still more in Kaccāyana's grammar though (as might be expected) not identical with Pāṇini's" (p. 41). But we have not come across a single technical term corresponding to ṭi, ghu, or bha in the Prātiśākhyas, though, of course, monosyllabic technical terms occur profusely in VP. and RT.

It will be found in the following pages that some technical terms are defined in some systems, while others are used without any definition. When certain terms are very well known in the locality in which the grammarian flourishes or in the system which he generally follows he does not find it necessary to define them. Hence Indra says "siddhir anuktānāṃ rūḍheh". The Kātantra also says: "lokopacārād grahaṇa-siddhih" i. 1. 23 which is abbreviated

by Hemacandra into "lokāt" i. 1. 3. It is clear from this that Pāṇini does not define technical terms only when they have become well-established in his neighbourhood or in the system he follows, otherwise he defines terms even though they may have been used by his predecessors.

NAMES OF MOODS AND TENSES.

When we were reading in the lower classes of a high school, a student once asked the teacher of Sanskrit why Laṭ meant the Present Tense. The learned teacher grew furious, gave the boy an inkling into the abusive powers of the elegant Bengali language and then said, Laṭ means the present tense because the great Pāṇini wanted it to mean the present tense. If he had intended to use Drum Dhrash or Chlorate of Potash for the present tense what was there to prevent him from doing so? You ought to have greater respect for Pāṇini than to ask such impertinent questions. The teacher belonged to the usual class of Pandits who regard grammar as a strictly normative science and who are followers of the principle:

> "Theirs not to reason why,
> Theirs not to make reply",

and at that time we were greatly impressed by the soundness of his reasoning. But as we grew older the argument gradually lost all its force for us. I am now firmly convinced that there is nothing arbitrary in language. To say that a thing or phenomenon is arbitrary is merely to confess our ignorance. If we could find out all the links in the chain of association in the mind of a writer, we could explain what on the face of it would appear to admit of no explanation. And this is true of the technical terms of Sanskrit grammar also.

अतः परं प्रकृतमनुसरामः ।

In the Sanskrit grammars that have come down to us the distinction between moods and tenses is conspicuous by its absence. Yet one cannot help feeling that in several pre-

Pāṇinian grammars there must have been a name for moods also and the Lakāras divided into two classes according as they expressed tense prominently or mood prominently.

In the Kātantra which has fortunately preserved many ancient self-explanatory terms there is the Adhikāra rule काले iii. 1.10 and the rules तासां स्वसंज्ञाभिः कालविशेषः । प्रयोगतश्च iii. 1.15-16. It is the ल of काल that led Pāṇini to use the ten technical terms लट् लिट् लुट् लृट् लेट् लोट् लङ् लिङ् लुङ् and लृङ् . (The Kāśikā says under लस्य iii. 4. 77: षट् टितश्चत्वारो मितः । अक्षरसमाम्नायवदानुपूर्व्या कथ्यन्ते ।) For the Precative Pāṇini has no special name, he merely uses लिङाशिषि to denote it. (The Supadma uses लोङ् for लिङाशिषि .)

It will be noticed that the indicatory letter ट् is used in the case of the primary endings and ङ् in the case of the secondary endings. It is interesting to note in this connexion that the indicatory letter ट् generally denotes that an Āgama will come in at the beginning and the indicatory letter ङ् shows that the Ādeśa will oust the final. आद्यन्तौ टकितौ, ङिच्च i. 1. 46, 53. It is therefore fit and proper that ट् should be the Anubandha in the case of the primary endings, because they come first and ङ् the Anubandha in the case of the secondary endings, because they lose their final.

First of all Pāṇini takes the three primary tenses—present, past and future and names them लट् , लिट् and लुट् respectively according to the order of the vowel. The simple vowels अ इ उ being used up, लृट् comes next as denoting remote future. It comes after लुट् , because in लृट् there is the added element स्य . Next Pāṇini uses the diphthongs ए and ओ for the two moods with the primary endings, viz., the Subjunctive (लेट्) and the Imperative (लोट्) . And since the Subjunctive, though fluctuating

between the primary and secondary endings, shows ति, सि etc. intact in many cases, it is placed before the Imperative in which the endings though primary are a bit modified. Of the Lakāras with the secondary endings the tense लङ् preceded the mood लिङ् exactly as the tense लुट् and लृट् preceded the moods लेट् and लोट्. After लङ् (Imperfect) one expected लुङ् (Aorist), but Pāṇini now places the moods and tenses alternately. Hence after the tense लङ् we get the mood लिङ्, then comes the tense लुङ् followed by the mood लृङ् which naturally comes last as being composed of the elements of लङ् and लृट्.

It is a pity the Kātantra follows Pāṇini in the matter of the Lakāras though it retains most of the self-explanatory names. It uses वर्तमाना for लट् following Pāṇini who says वर्तमाने लट् iii. 2.123. From the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana we learn that भवन्ती was another name for the same Lakāra : अस्तिर्भवन्तीपरः प्रथमपुरुषोऽप्रयुज्यमानोऽप्यस्ति ii. 3. 1. 11, प्रवृत्तस्याविरामे शिष्या भवन्त्यवर्तमानत्वात् iii. 2.123.1. But the still earlier name would appear to be कुर्वत् or कुर्वती as in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (xx. 1, 3; xxi. 1)* करिष्यत्, कुर्वत् and कृतम् represent the future, present and past tenses respectively. In the Kauṣitaki Brāhmaṇa (xxii. 3) *cakṛvat* is substituted for *kṛtam*. It is in the later Brāhmaṇas and Śānkhāyana Āraṇyaka† that the neuter भू is substituted for the active कृ and भवत्, भविष्यत् and भूतम् are used for these three tenses. Vopadeva uses भवत्, भूत and भव्य for Pāṇini's वर्तमान, अतीत and भविष्यत् (भवद्भूतभव्ये त्रिशः क्याद्याः, Mughdhabodha 933). Abhinava Śākaṭāyana uses

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*Keith, Rigveda Brāhmaṇas, p. 80.

†Liebich, p. 14.

सत् for भवत् and वर्त्स्यत् for भविष्यत्, thereby effecting the saving of a syllable in each case.

For लिट् (Perfect) the Kātantra has परोक्षा corresponding to Pāṇini's rule परोक्षे लिट् iii. 2.115. The name परोक्षा is found in the Caturadhyāyikā—a Prātiśākhya belonging to the Atharvaveda (अभ्यासस्य परोक्षायाम् iv. 84) and also in the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana. The Nyāsa says under i. 2.18: परोक्षे विहितत्वाल्लिटः श्रुतिः परोक्षेत्युच्यते.

For लुट् (Periphrastic Future) we find श्वस्तनी in the Kātantra after Pāṇini's rule अनद्यतने लुट् iii. 3. 15. श्वस्तन literally means, 'belonging to to-morrow' and occurs in the Vārttika परिदेवने श्वस्तनी भविष्यन्त्या अर्थे iii. 3.15.

For लृट् (Simple Future) the Kātantra has भविष्यन्ती (a term which is used by Kātyāyana in his Vārttikas) in keeping with Pāṇini's rule लृट् शेषे च iii. 3.13 immediately preceded by भविष्यति गम्यादयः.

लेट् (Subjunctive), being confined to the Vedas, is ignored in post-Pāṇinian grammars, but it appears from the Prātiśākhyas belonging to the Atharvaveda that the older name for the Subjunctive was नैगमी❀ from निगम, the Vedas. Haradatta points out that in some parts of Southern India the periphrasis पञ्चम लकार is used for लेट् as the latter means in several South Indian dialects something which can only be mentioned in works on anatomy.†

❀ नैगमी वा ततोऽन्यत्र भूते वा बहुलमिति।
सदृशानामतोऽन्यत्र भवतीति प्रयोजनम्॥ अं प्रां २।११
अकारान्तानि प्रैषण्या मध्यमस्यैकवचनानि। नैगमी तकाराबाधे।
अं प्रां ३।११

†The word Lakāra itself is used in that sense in Sv. 2401.

The original name for लोट् (Imperative) was lost in the Kātantra school which uses पञ्चमी for it, because लोट् occupies the fifth place in the Pāṇinian scheme of moods and tenses if the Subjunctive, which is confined to Vedic, is excluded. It is just possible, however, that the ten Lakāras, like the seven cases, were at one time known as प्रथमा, द्वितीया, तृतीया etc. The Prayogaratnamālā, an ardent follower of the Kātantra preferred Pāṇini's apparently arbitrary लोट् to Sarvavarman's apparently arbitrary पञ्चमी and retains लोट्. The Atharva Prātiśākhyas use the word प्रैषणी for the Imperative and this reminds one of Pāṇini's rule प्रैषातिसर्गप्राप्तकालेषु कृत्याश्च iii. 3.163.

For लङ् (Imperfect) the Kātantra has ह्यस्तनी (lit. 'belonging to yesterday'). It is the counterpart of श्वस्तनी for लुट् (Periphrastic Future) and in keeping with Pāṇini's rule अनद्यतने लङ् iii. 2.111. Though the word ह्यस्तन occurs in the Mahābhāṣya in connexion with क्रिया in the passage अथ कालविशेषानभिसमीक्ष्य यश्चाद्यतनः पाको यश्च ह्यस्तनो यश्च श्वस्तनः (ed. Kielhorn, Vol. II, p. 57, ll. 4-5), still ह्यस्तनी as the name of a tense occurs neither in the Vārttikas nor in the Bhāṣya.

In the case of लिङ् (Potential) as in that of लोट् the earlier name was lost and लिङ् came to be called सप्तमी in the Kātantra system, as with the exclusion of the Vedic Subjunctive, it occupied the seventh place in the system of Pāṇini. The Prayogaratnamālā prefers लिङ् to सप्तमी Since Pāṇini's rule for lin begins with vidhi (iii. 3. 161) one is inclined to suppose that the earlier name was वैधी or वैधानी.

For लिङाशिषि (Precative) of Pāṇini the Kātantra has आशीः. Padmanābha, though closely following Pāṇini, uses लोङ् for लिङाशिषि in his Supadma.

लृङ् (Conditional) is termed क्रियातिपत्ति in the Kātantra

system after Pāṇini's rule लिङ्निमित्ते लृङ् क्रियातिपत्तौ iii. 3.139.

It is remarkable that Candra who studiously refrains from using technical terms that are not self-explanatory retains the Lakāras of Pāṇini.

Devanandin, the author of the Jainendra Vyākaraṇa and the friend, philosopher and guide of Vopadeva, also sees no reason to reject these terms of the Pāṇini system, though Vopadeva does not follow his guide in this particular instance. He takes the consonants beginning with क, omitting the nasals and palatals for ease of utterance, and adds ई to each, both because भवन्ती, अद्यतनी, श्वस्तनी etc. end in ई and because the technical terms for the सुप् विभक्ति in the Mugdhabodha प्री, द्वी, त्री etc., end in ई. Thus की=लट्=वर्तमाना= Present. खी=लिङ्=सप्तमी=Optative. गी=लोट्=पञ्चमी= Imperative. घी=लङ्=ह्यस्तनी= Imperfect. टी=लुङ्=अद्यतनी= Aorist. ठी=लिट्=परोक्षा=Perfect. डी=लुट्=श्वस्तनी= Periphrastic Future. ढी=लिङाशिषि=आशीः= Precative. ती=लृट्=भविष्यन्ती= Future. थी=लृङ्=क्रियातिपत्ति= Conditional.

It was expected that the Harināmāmṛta would use the names of the ten Avatāras or incarnations of Viṣṇu for the ten Lakāras, but as the term Daśāvatāra has already been used as the name of the first ten vowels (the Daśāvatāras of the Harināmāmṛta corresponding to the Samānākṣara of the earlier systems), it is compelled to resort to other names. For लट् it uses अच्युत which means नित्य and as लट् is used of all times the name is very appropriate. For लिङ् it uses विधि (injunction and Brahmā) and for लोट् विधाता (creator, commander). These are very apt names because लिङ् is generally concerned with injunction and लोट् with command. For the three past tenses लङ् लुङ् and लिट् it uses भूतेश्वर, भूतेश and अधोऽक्षज. भूतेश्वर and भूतेश literally

mean 'the lord of creatures' and contain भूत, the word for past time. अधोऽक्षज means Viṣṇu and bears some resemblance to परोक्षा in that both are beyond the range of sense-perception and both contain the letter क्ष. For लिङ् आशिषि the Harināmāmṛta has Kāmapāla 'the fulfiller of one's desires.' The two futures लुट् and लृट् are named Bālakalki and Kalki respectively, because Kalki will make His appearance in the distant future. Lastly the conditional (लृङ्) is termed Ajita. Because the action has not been achieved, it is regarded as not conquered and thus the Lakāra is designated Ajita.

I have heard that in a system of grammar belonging to the Śāktas the ten Lakāras are named after the ten Mahāvidyās—Kāli, Tārā, Soḍaśi, Bhuvaneśvari, Bhairavi, Chinnamastā, Dhumāvati, Vagalā, Mātangi and Kamalā.

The grammarian Vyāḍi, who must have been anterior to Pāṇini since his name is mentioned in the Rk Prātiśākhya, probably used ten *huṣas* for the ten *Lakāras*. Thus we find in the Kāśikā under ii. 4. 21 and vi. 2. 14: व्याड्युपज्ञं दशहुष्करणम्* which is explained thus in the Nyāsa: व्याडिरप्यत्र युगपत्-काल-भाविनां विधीनां मध्ये दश हुष्करणानि कृत्वा परिभाषितवान् —पूर्वं पूर्वं कालमिति। On this the Tantrapradipa comments thus: पूर्वं प्रथमं पूर्वं भूताख्यं कालं परिभाषितवान्। पश्चाद्वर्त्तमानादिकमित्यर्थः। अथवा पूर्वं पूर्वमिति। प्रथमतरमित्यर्थः। पूर्वप्रथमयोरर्थातिशयविवक्षायां द्विर्वचनम् [८।१।१२।१] इति द्विर्वचनम्। अस्य दश हुष्करणानीत्यनेन सम्बन्धः। प्रथमतरं दश हुष्करणानि कृत्वा कालमद्यतनादिकं परिभाषितवान्।

As regards the order of the Lakāras it is not possible to come to any definite conclusion on the point from Pāṇini's

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*In Kāsikā iv. 3. 15, however, we find: Āpiśalaṃ huṣkaraṇam.

Aṣṭādhyāyi. In the Kātantra iii. 1. 24 ff. we find वर्त्तमाना, सप्तमी, पञ्चमी, ह्यस्तनी, अद्यतनी, परोक्षा, श्वस्तनी, आशीः, भविष्यन्ती and क्रियातिपत्ति —an order followed by most later systems including Hemacandra, Mugdhabodha, Supadma and Harināmāmṛta. The Prayogaratnamālā changes the order for convenience of conjugation and we find here: वर्त्तमाना लिङ्, लोट्, ह्यस्तनी, श्वस्तनी, आशीः, भविष्यन्ती, क्रियातिपत्ति, परीक्षा and अद्यतनी. In the Saṃksiptasāra also the order is slightly different: लट्, लोट्, लङ्, लिङ्, आशीर्लिङ्, लिट्, लृट्, लुट्, लृङ् and लुङ्. In the Supadma the order is entirely different, the ṭānubandhas coming first and the nānubandhas following them: लट् and लृट्, लोट्, लिट्, लुट्, लुङ् लङ् and लृङ्, लिङ् and लोङ्.

It would appear from the example पाणिन्युपज्ञमकालकं व्याकरणम् found in the Kāśikā under ii. 4. 21 and vi. 2.14 and पाणिनीयमकालकं व्याकरणम् found under iv. 3. 115 that Pāṇini was the first to do away with the Kāladhikāra in Sanskrit Grammar. It follows as a corollary that Pāṇini was the first to introduce the technical terms *laṭ*, *liṭ* etc. It is interesting to note in this connexion that in German a verb is known as Zeit-wort (कालशब्द).

As regards the order of the endings Devanandin stands alone in beginning with the first person—*mip, vas, mas; sip, thas, tha; tip, tas, jhi; iṭ, vahi, mahi; thās, āthām, dhvam; ta, ātām, jhan,* ii. 4. 6. So it has to use the pratyāhāra *min* for Pāṇini's *tin*.

This is entirely opposed to the Indian point of view. Indian systems of grammar generally begin with the endings for the third person, then pass on to the endings for the second person and put in the endings for the first person last of all, while European grammarians begin with the first person and then pass on to the second and third

persons. Thus in Sanskrit we have *asti, stah, santi; asi, sthah, stha; asmi, svah, smah;* but in Greek and Latin we find *eimi* and *sum* (*asmi*), *essi* and *es* (*asi*), *esti* and *est* (*asti*), *esmen* and *sumus* (*smah*), *este* and *estis* (*stha*), *enti* and *sunt* (*santi*).

This is due to a certain extent to the requirements of the Paribhāṣā* "vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam" i. 4. 2 i.e. in case of conflict the later is to prevail over the earlier, according to which when there is any doubt in our minds as to the person of the verb owing to the presence of nominatives of different persons, we use the first person in preference to the second and third, and the second in preference to the third. For this the Kātantra has the rule "yugapadvacane parah puruṣāṇām" iii. 1. 4, but such a rule is unnecessary in the Pāṇini system, because of this arrangement.

In the matter of the mention of verbs also the same difference between Indian and European grammars is observed. In Sanskrit a verb is mentioned in the third person singular (ikśtipau dhātunirdeśe iii. 3. 108. 2), but in Greek and Latin a verb is mentioned

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*Poets have not been slow in making use of this Paribhāṣā of Pāṇini for their own purposes. According to them, Rādhā, torn between her loyalty to her husband and her love for Kṛṣṇa said to her friend, 'My husband is my first lover, Kṛṣṇa the second; what am I to do?' Her reply was, 'Listen, dear friend, to the rule of Pāṇini: In all cases of conflict, the later prevails over the earlier.'

"निजपतिराद्यः प्रणयी हरिर्द्वितीयः करोमि किं गोपि ।
शृणु सखि पाणिनिसूत्रं विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यम् ॥"
"समुपागतवति नाथे गेहे कृष्णे करोमि किं न्वद्य ।
स्मर सखि पाणिनिसूत्रं विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यम् ॥"
"निजपतिराद्यः प्रणयी तदनु च हरिः किं करीतु सा राधा ।
शृणु सखि पाणिनिवचनं विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यम् ॥"

in the first person singular. Thus in Sanskrit we say *bharati* (to bear), but in Greek we say *phero* and in Latin *fero* (corresponding to Sanskrit *bharāmi*) in the same sense.

This would appear to throw a flood of light on the respective mentalities of Europeans and Indians. The former always look after number one, while the latter generally shrink from self-assertion and self-aggrandizement and firmly believe in the doctrine that in seeking the good of others, we find our own*.

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*After the ten Lakāras of Pāṇini, a poet speaks of five lakāras:

अनुकूलां विमलाङ्गीं कुलजां कुशलां सुशीलसम्पन्नाम् ।
पञ्चलकारां भार्यां पुरुषः पुण्योदयाल्लभते ॥

GUNA, VRDDHI AND SAMPRASARANA.

Guṇa.

In Sanskrit grammar the vowels *a, e* and *o* are known as Guṇa-vowels. The guṇa of *a* is *a*, of *i* is *e* and of *u* is *o*. Of *ṛ* the guṇa is *ar* and of *ḷ al*. Of these mere *a* may be left out of account, as has actually been done by many later grammarians. Pāṇini mentions it for *ar* and probably for *al* and for certain grammatical operations peculiar to the Pāṇini system. Patañjali mentions the different meanings of guṇa in the Mahābhāṣya on "prāk krítāc chah" v. 1.1:

गुणशब्दोऽयं बह्वर्थः। अस्त्येव समेष्ववयवेषु वर्तते, तद् यथा। द्विगुणा रज्जुरिति। अस्ति द्रव्यपदार्थकः, तद् यथा गुणवानयं देश इत्युच्यते यस्मिन् गावः सस्यानि च वर्तन्ते। अस्त्यप्रधाने वर्तते, तद् यथा यो यत्राप्रधानं भवति स आह—गुणभूता वयमत्रेति। अस्त्याचारे वर्तते, तद् यथा गुणवानयं ब्राह्मण इत्युच्यते यः सम्यगाचारं करोति। अस्ति संस्कारे वर्तते, तद् यथा संस्कृतमन्नं गुणवदित्युच्यते। अथवा सर्वत्रैवायं गुणशब्दः समेष्ववयवेषु वर्तते।

Of these the first sense of 'equal part' or 'strand', the second sense of 'property', the third sense of 'secondary or subordinate' and the fifth sense of 'refinement' are all applicable here.

The evidence of other cognate languages shows that *e* and *o* were originally pronounced *ai* and *au*. The guṇa vowels were thus looked upon as having a strand or some property added to them or as having been refined (Saṃskṛta) by the addition of some attribute. In other words guṇa is used in the sense of strengthening.

Āpiśali is said to have regarded guṇa and vṛddhi as

āgama or augment. Thus in the Mahābhāṣya on "sam-ava-pra-vi-bhyah sthah" i. 3.22 we find the examples "astiṃ sakāram ātiṣṭhate. Āgamau guṇa-vṛddhí ātiṣṭhate. Vikārau guṇa-vṛddhí ātiṣṭhate" under the Vārttika: ān·ah sthah pratijñāne. In the Kāśikā we find "astiṃ sakāra-mātram ātiṣṭhate, āgamau guṇa-vṛddhí ātiṣṭhate." This is explained by the Nyāsa-kāra thus:

सकारमात्रमस्तिं धातुमापिशलिराचार्यः प्रतिजानीते, तथाहि न तस्य पाणिनेरिव 'अस भुवि' इति गणपाठः। किं तर्हि? 'स भुवि' इति स पठति। आगमौ गुणवृद्धी आतिष्ठत इति। स त्वागमौ गुणवृद्धी आतिष्ठते। एवं हि स प्रतिजानीते।

Similarly Haradatta says in his Padamañjari:

स्तःसन्तीत्यादौ सकारमात्रस्य दर्शनात् 'स भुवि' इत्येव धातुः पाठ्यः, अस्तीत्यादौ पिति सार्वधातुकेऽडागमो विधेयः, आस्ताम् आसन् इत्यादौ आडागमः स्यादित्यापिशलिना मन्यते। आगमौ गुणवृद्धी इति। वैयाकरणः सौवश्व इत्यादौ वृद्धेरागमत्वमित्याहुः। गुणस्य त्वागमत्वे उदाहरणं मृग्यम्।

Bhaṭṭoji says in his Śabdakaustubha: आपिशलिर्हि अस भुवि इति न पठति, किन्तु सकारमात्रम्। स्तः सन्तीत्याद्युदाहरणम्। अस्ति आसीदित्यादिसिद्धये तु अडाटावागमौ प्रतिजानीते। तावेव गुणवृद्धी इति।

Āpiśali maintains that guṇa and vṛddhi (a and ā) are āgama in order to form the words, asti, astu, āsít etc. from his root *s* (which is *as* in the Pāṇiniya dhātu-pāṭha) and this is referred to by the Nyāsa-kāra in explaining the two examples cited here by the Vṛtti-kāra to illustrate the Vārttika attached to the rule i. 3. 22.

As the passage is of some importance we have quoted all the different views above. We have a transcript of

Maitreya Rakṣita's Tantrapradīpa but unfortunately this does not contain anything under i. 3. 22.

What emerges from the above quotations would appear to be this: Āpisáli regarded guṇa and vṛddhi as augments. Presumably he regarded the augment as *a*. In the case of guṇa the augment was added before the simple vowel, and in the case of vṛddhi before the guṇa vowel. Or he may have regarded the augment as *a* in the case of guṇa and as *ā* in the case of vṛddhi and framed some rule on the line of Pāṇini's āṭaśca vi. 1.90. In RP. xi. 10 "Guṇāgamād etana-bhāvi cetana"* "guna" may have been regarded as an augment. Of course we can take guṇa as standing for the guṇa vowel *e* and āgama in the ordinary sense of 'advent, appearance.'

Guṇa may also have been used in the sense of 'secondary quality.' According to Indian grammarians the simple vowels *a i u* are regarded as forming the normal grade and the strengthened vowels are regarded as secondary ones. As Rucaka says in his commentary on the Vyakti-viveka: anya-siddhy-artham upādīyamānatvaṃ guṇsya lakṣaṇam.

Guṇa first occurs in the Atharva Veda in the sense of 'fold, times.' It is found in the Taittiríya Saṃhitā in the still earlier sense of 'string' or 'thread.' In the Śān·khāyana Brāhmaṇa xxvi. 4 it is used in the sense of 'auxiliary act' and in the Śrauta sūtras it means a 'secondary element, subordinate or unessential part of any action.'

In its technical sense the word is met with first in the Nirukta: शेव इति सुखनाम। शिष्यते वकारो नामकरणः। अन्तस्थान्तरोपलिङ्गी विभाषितगुणः। शिवमित्यप्यस्य भवति। x. 27. The word śeva means happiness. The suffix 'va' has been

* गुणागमात् एकारागमात् एतनभूतम् इतन इत्येतत् पदम्। उवटः।

added to the root 'śiṣ.' It replaces the final of the root and causes guṇa optionally. Śiva is derived from the same root with the same suffix.

Sanskrit grammarians of most schools use the term guṇa which, in the 19th century, became practically international. Bearing in mind Pāṇini's rule aden· guṇa i. 1.2 Candra uses aden· for guṇa. Thus for Pāṇini's ād guṇaḥ vi. 1.87 Candra has ād aden· v. 1.82 and for Pāṇini's ato guṇe Candra has ato'den· v. 1.101. Jainendra uses *ep* for guṇa, taking the guṇa vowel *e* and adding a euphonic *p* to it. Śākaṭāyana does not use any technical term corresponding to guṇa, but the pratyāhāra en· along with ar is pressed into service. Cf. ikyen·ar i. 1.82, juspakeyn·ar iv. 2.16. The Mugdhabodha tries to improve on Jainendra by taking the consonant of the second syllable and the vowel of the first and calling it *nu*. The Harināmāmṛta takes the initial consonant of guṇa and uses the name of Kṛṣṇa beginning with g, *viz.*, Govinda.

P. अदेङ् गुणः i. 1. 2.

K. अत्पूर्वे द्वे सन्ध्यक्षरे च गुणः iv. 4. 31.

J. अदेङेप् i. 1. 1.

Hc. गुणोऽरेदोत् iii. 3.

Sam. इक एङरलो गुणः i. 69.

Mu. इङोऽरलेङ् णुः 8.

Su. एङरलो गुण इकः i. 1. 21.

PR. इग्-युग्मानां गुणा ए ओ अरलः स्युरनुक्रमात् i. 34.

HN. इद्वयस्य ए, उद्वयस्य ओ, ऋद्वयस्य अर्, लद्वयस्य अल् गोविन्द-संज्ञो गुण-संज्ञश्च 1. 180.

Guṇa is sometimes used by poets also in this sense. Thus there is the well-known stanza:

तात वाभट मा रोदीः कर्मणां गतिरीदृशी ।
दुषधातोरिवास्माकं दोषसम्पत्तये गुणाः ॥

The celebrated scholar Vābhaṭa, it is said, had a very beautiful and accomplished daughter. Seeing her straying from the path of virtue, the learned scholar remonstrated with her. Remonstrances proving unavailing, he began to weep bitterly. At this the daughter said, "Father Vābhaṭa, do not weep. Such is the course of action. Our virtues lead to vice, exactly as in the case of the root 'duṣ', 'guṇa' turns it into 'doṣa' (fault, vice)."

Vṛddhi.

Vṛddhi literally means 'growth, increase, extension' and is used of the lengthened grade vowels *ai* and *au* for their perceptible increase of moras or for their increase over the normal vowels with ā or guṇa vowels with a. Vṛddhi is a much older word than guṇa and is found from RV. downwards. As a technical term, however, it does not occur in the Nirukta, nor in RP. or TP. It occurs in VP. at the end of each chapter in the form of vṛddaṃ vṛddhih, but there it is used in the sense of prosperity. This Prātiśākhya prescribes *ār* for *ṛ* and *āl* for *l* in the sūtras: aram ṛkāro'pṛktāt, lkāraścālkāram iv. 60-61, but vṛddhi in its technical sense is found in taddhite caikâkṣara-vṛddhāv anihite v. 29. It is not found in CA. but the adjective form vṛddha occurs there in the sense of that which has undergone vṛddhi. (See p. 30.)

The Kātantra uses the term in the chapter on Ākhyata and defines it at the end of the chapter.

Candra uses ādaic for vṛddhi taking the hint from Pāṇini's rule vṛddhir ādaic i. 1.1.

Śākaṭāyana uses āraic every time. Cf. āraijādyacah iv. 2.132.

Jainendra uses aip taking the vṛddhi vowel *ai* and adding a euphonic *p* to it. In most systems of grammar, however, *aip* is the ending for the imperative first person singular Ātmanepada.

Hemacandra defines vṛddhi in the third section of the third chapter of his grammar, consequently he uses this technical term only in the subsequent portions of the work.

Vopadeva takes the first syllable vṛ, adds the euphonic i to it and forms vri. Was ṛ pronounced as *ri* in Vopadeva's time?

The Harināmāmṛta, as usual, takes the first syllable and forms a name of Śrí Kṛṣṇa with it. Thus for vṛddhi it has Vṛṣṇíndra.

The other systems follow Pāṇini and use vṛddhi.

P. वृद्धिरादैच् i. 1. 1.

K. आर् उत्तरे च वृद्धिः iv. 4. 35.

J. आदैगैप् i. 1. 16.

Hc. वृद्धिरारैदौत् iii. 3. 1.

Sam. वृद्धिरादैजारालैचोऽन्तः i. 1.

Mu. अच आरालैज् त्रिः 9.

Su. वृद्धिरादैजारालोक एैजेचश्च i. 1. 21.

PR. आ एै औ आर् आल् एै औ स्वरयुग्मेषु वृद्धयः i. 35.

HN. अद्वयस्य आ, इद्वयस्य एै, उद्वयस्य औ, ऋद्वयस्य आर्, लृद्वयस्य आल्, वृष्णीन्द्रसंज्ञो वृद्धिसंज्ञश्च i. 191.

A poet uses the technical terms guṇa and vṛddhi in the following stanza quoted in the Kāvya-Prakāśa:

दीधीवेवीट्समः कश्चिद् गुणवृद्ध्योरभाजनम् ।
क्विप्प्रत्ययनिभः कश्चिद् यत्र सन्निहिते न ते ॥

On being asked about his impressions about the character of the inhabitants of a country, a visitor said, 'Some are devoid of qualities and prosperity, even as the roots 'dídhí' and 'veví' and the union-vowel 'i' do not admit of guṇa and vṛddhi (acc. to dídhí-vevíṭām P. i. 1.6); some who are strangers to good qualities and prosperity are like the suffix 'kvip' (of which nothing remains, acc. to "ver apṛktasya" P. vi. 1. 67).

Aśvaghoṣa uses the word vṛddhi in the following stanza of his Saundaranda (xii. 9):

बभूव स हि संवेगः श्रेयसस्तस्य वृद्धये ।
धातुरेधिरिवाख्याते पठितोऽक्षरचिन्तकैः ॥

'That perturbation of his was conducive to the growth of his well-being like the root edh read in the Ākhyāta section by syllable-grinders i.e. grammarians.'

The root edh is read in the Dhātupāṭha in the sense of 'vṛddhi,' and acc. to Pāṇini's rule "etyedhatyūṭsu" vi. 1. 89 the 'e' of 'edh' contracts with the final 'a' or 'ā' of a preceding preposition into the vṛddhi vowel 'ai'.

Samprasāraṇa.

Samprasāraṇa literally means spreading out fully, extension, distraction. The idea is that *ya*, *va*, *ra* and *la* contain *i*, *u*, *ṛ* and *l* in a condensed form: when they are fully spread out and i, u, ṛ and l make their appearance, the phenomenon is known as samprasāraṇa. Sam-pra-sṛ causative is used in the Saṃhitās of the Yajurveda in the sense of 'stretching or spreading out' and in the Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra in the sense of 'drawing asunder.'

Prasāraṇa is generally used in the Vārttikas in the sense of 'samprasāraṇa.' Vyāghrabhūti also uses prasāraṇa in his aniṭ-kārikās: घसिश्च सान्तेषु वसिः प्रसारणी (Kāśikā on vii. 2.10) but that may be due to the exigencies of metre. It is also found in CA. iv. 37 Com.

The Sāmatantra uses the technical term *nu* for samprasāraṇa, taking the ṛ of samprasāraṇa, changing it into *n* because of the absence of *r* or with a view to making it look more like an arbitrary term* and adding a euphonic *u* to round it off.

The Kātantra uses samprasāraṇa in the Ākhyāta-section though in the Nāma-section it studiously refrains from using the technical term. Cf. caturo va-śabdasyotvam ii. 2. 41, anaḍuhaś ca ii. 2.42, aghuṭ-svarādau seṭkasyāpi vansor va-śabdasyotvam ii. 2.46, śva-yuva-maghonāṃ ca ii. 2.47 etc. In the fourth section of the chapter on Ākhyāta samprasāraṇa is used and it is defined in the last section of the same chapter, but commentators are at a loss to explain the high-sounding word. The last but two rule in the Ākhyāta-section is samprasāraṇam yvṛto'antasthānimittah *i.e.*, i, u and r originating from semi-vowels are known as samprasāraṇa.

Candra takes the hint from Pāṇini's rule ig yaṇah samprasāraṇam i. 1. 45 and uses igyaṇah for samprasāraṇa. This is not only self-explanatory but also shorter. Thus for Pāṇini's ṣyañah samprasāraṇam putra-patyos tatpuruṣe vi. 1.13 Candra has ṣyañah pradhānasya putrapatyoh svayor ig yaṇah v. 1. 19. Sometimes other devices are also resorted to. Thus for Pāṇini's vasoh samprasāra-

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* Cf. परोक्षप्रिया वै देवाः AB.

ṇam vi. 4. 131 Candra has vasor va ut v. 3. 128. Candra here took the hint from Pāṇini's rule diva ut* vi. 1. 131.

Jainendra is fond of monosyllabic technical terms, but in this case he thinks that sufficient brevity will be secured by substituting ik for sâc yaṇ and that a new technical term would involve prolixity. Thus we find liṭíg yaṇah sâco'r-yyājyam iv. 3.17 corresponding to Pāṇini's liṭy abhyāsa-syobhayeṣām vi. 1.17.

Śākaṭāyana follows Jainendra.

Hemacandra uses yvṛt in yajādi-vaś-vacah sasvarântasthā yvṛt iv. 1. 72 and explains it thus in his Bṛhad-vṛtti on yvṛt sakṛt iv. 1. 102: yvṛd iṭy antasthā-sthānikānām ikārokāra-ṛkārāṇāṃ śāstre'smin vyavahārah.

Vopadeva uses ji with the y of yaṇ and i of ik clearly showing that y etc. are changed into i etc., only ẏ is here changed into j. It is just possible that in the days of Vopadeva initial y was pronounced like j.†

The Samkṣiptasāra and Supadma also follow the lead of Jainendra. Cf. vaśāder uśādih Sam. ii. 257, vaci-svapi-yajādeh sâco yaṇa ik kiti Su. iii. 3.134, ... ijādir yajādeh Sam. ii. 583, adādi-vac-svapor uc-supoh Sam. ii. 584, vasoh sâco va ut Su. ii. 3. 124 etc.

The Samkṣiptasāra uses asamprasāraṇa only once in the rule avād yajo'samprasāraṇaṃ ca iii. 68 on which the commentator Goyícandra remarks:— असम्प्रसारणञ्चेति पाणिनीय-

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*In the case of kvasu, the reduction takes place before weak endings, hence Pāṇini uses the word 'samprasāraṇam.' In the case of div the reduction takes place before middle endings, hence Pāṇini uses ut instead of samprasāraṇam.

† पदादौ च पादादौ च संयोगावग्रहेषु च ।
जः शब्द इति विज्ञेयो योऽन्यः स य इति स्मृतः ॥ लघ्वमोघानन्दिनी शिक्षा ।

लिपिकरस्यासम्प्रसारणमिति स्वसंज्ञाभावितबुद्धेः प्रमादः, तस्मात् अवाद् यजो नेजाद्यादेशश्चेति लक्षणम् ।

The Prayogaratnamālā uses samprasāraṇa.

The Harināmāmṛta uses Sankarṣaṇa, the name of Kṛṣṇa beginning with sam and approximating in sound to samprasāraṇa.

Yāska understood the phenomenon of samprasāraṇa, but does not use any technical term for it. Thus he says: तद् यत्र स्वरादनन्तरान्तस्थान्तर्धातुर्भवति तद् द्विप्रकृतीनां स्थानमिति प्रदिशन्ति । ii. 2*

Of the Prātiśākhyas CA or its commentary uses the word prasāraṇa in the sense of samprasāraṇa, but here again the metre may have something to do with the dropping of the sam:

यदा प्रसारणं तस्य पदत्वं नेष्यते तदा ।
पूर्वेणावग्रहः सिद्धो यतस्तज्जायते पदम् ॥

In APr. prasāraṇa is used evidently in the sense of 'spreading out.' Thus the absence of the change of *d* into *dh* is spoken of as prasāraṇa in the rule prasāraṇaṃ dipsatīty ādyacaturtha-pratiṣedhe 153c. The first syllable of dipsati undergoes prasāraṇa in that the first letter i.e. *d* is not changed into the fourth letter of the varga i.e. *dh*. Dr. Suryakanta, however, explains *prasāraṇa* as contraction

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* अतः परं सम्प्रसारणचिन्ता वर्तिष्यते तदर्थमिदमारभ्यते—तद् यत्रेति । सम्प्रसार्य-प्रकृतयश्चासम्प्रसार्य-प्रकृतयश्चोभयप्रकृतयश्च धातवः । . . . 'यत्र' यस्मिन् धातौ 'स्वरात्' अकारादेः 'अनन्तरा' अनन्तर्हिता अन्येन व्यञ्जनेन, परा वा पूर्वा वा, 'अन्तस्था' यरलवानामन्यतमो वर्णः 'अन्तर्धातु' धातुमध्ये भवति 'तद्' धातुरूपं द्विप्रकृतीनां द्विस्वभावानां शब्दानां 'स्थानम्' आश्रय 'इति' एवम् आचार्याः 'प्रदिशन्ति' प्रविभागेनोपदिशन्ति । तद् यथा—यज देवपूजा-सङ्गतिकरण-दानेषु इति । अत्र द्वे शब्द-प्रकृती भवतः । सम्प्रसारण-पक्षे तावत 'इष्टवान्' 'इष्टिः' 'इष्टयः'—एताः शब्दप्रकृतयो भवन्ति ; असम्प्रसारणपक्षे पुनः 'यष्टा' 'यष्टुम्' 'यष्टव्यम्' इत्येताः । दुर्गः ।

and translates the rule thus: prasāraṇa takes place in dipsati, the fourth (bh) is negatived (replaced) by the first (p). In 217 m., however, prasārin is used in the sense of that which undergoes samprasāraṇa or reduction:

अनुदितामुदिता ससमुद्यमुद्यमानमुदिना प्रसारिणा ।

Both samprasāraṇa and prasāraṇa are found in the vārttikas as also in the Mahābhāṣya. Thus under āto'nupasarge kah iii. 2. 3 there are the Vārttikas: ka-vidhau sarvatra prasāraṇibhyo ḍah and ke hi samprasāraṇa-prasan·gah and at the end of the Bhāṣya on the same rule we find:

नित्यं प्रसारणम् ।

In the Bhāṣya on bandhuni bahuvríhau vi. 1. 14 we find: mātaj-mātṛka-mātṛsu ṣyañ prasāryo vibhāṣayā which appears to be a part of a śloka-vārttika. Again in a śloka-vārttika under iv. 1.78 we find:

तथा प्रसार्य्येत तु वाक्पतिस्ते which is explained thus by Patañjali: तथा सति वाक्पतिः वाक्पुत्र इत्यत्र प्रसारणं प्राप्नोति ।

Again under iii. 2.178.2 Patañjali says:

अपर आह—वचिप्रच्छ्योरसम्प्रसारणं चेति वक्तव्यम् । तत् तर्हि वक्तव्यम् । न वक्तव्यम् । दीर्घवचनसामर्थ्यात् प्रसारणं भविष्यति ।

The term samprasāraṇa is found in the Uṇādi-sūtra also: syandeh samprasāraṇam dhaś ca i. 12, prathi-mradi-bhrasjām samprasāraṇam sa-lopaś ca i. 29 etc. In parder nit samprasāraṇam al-lopaś ca iii 80 samprasārana appears to be used in a slightly different sense, for in Sanskrit grammar it is generally used when r *followed* by a vowel is changed into ṛ.

P. इग् यणः सम्प्रसारणम् i. 1. 45.

K. सम्प्रसारणं य्वृतोऽन्तस्थानिमित्तः iv. 4. 33.

Hc. य्वृदित्यन्तस्थास्थानिकानामिकारोकारऋकाराणां शास्त्रेऽस्मिन् व्यवहारः। Bṛhadvṛtti on य्वृत् सकृत् iv. 1. 102.

Mu. यलोऽचेग् जिः 5.36.

PR. स्वरयुग् यवरस्थानमिदुद्दत् सम्प्रसारणम् i. 36.

HN. शपरसर्वेश्वरयवराणामि उ ऋ-रामादेशः सङ्कर्षणसंज्ञः i. 602.

VRDDHA.

The technical term Vṛddha means that which contains a vṛddhi vowel in its first syllable and is used in this sense by Pāṇini. Thus words of which the vowel in the first syllable is *ā*, *ai* or *au* are vrddha. In RT. vṛddha is used in the sense of pluta or prolated vowel: tisro vṛddham RT. 46. Some predecessors of Pāṇini used "vṛddha" in the sense of Pāṇini's "gotra". "Vṛddha-śabdah pūrvācārya-samjñā gotrasya," says the Kāśikā on "vṛddho yūnā tal-lakṣaṇaś ced eva viśeṣah" i. 2.65, and under iv. 1.166 quotes a rule from an ancient work on grammar: "apatyam antarhitam vṛddham" corresponding to Pāṇini's "apatyam pautra-prabhṛti gotram", iv. 1.162. Hemacandra also uses "vṛddha" in this sense.

Candra cannot use vṛddhi, so vṛddha also is taboo to him, so for vṛddha he has to use ādaijādyac. Thus for Pāṇini's "ūdicām vṛddhād agotrāt" iv. 1.157, Candra has "agotrād ādaijādyacah" ii. 4.90.

Śāntanavācārya uses "Yamanvā" for "vṛddha" in his Phiṭ sūtra.

Jainendra uses "du" for "vṛddha." Śākaṭāyana and Hemacandra follow Jainendra. "Du" is evidently formed

by taking "d" from the last syllable of "vṛddha" and adding "u" to round it off. Śākaṭāyana would appear to connect "du" with "Devadatta."

Sam. avoids the term vṛddha by using ādisthaijāt. Thus for Pāṇini's "avṛddhābhyo nadí-mānuṣíbhyas tannāmikābhyah" iv. 1.1113 and "nityaṃ vṛddha-śarādibhyah" iv. 3.144, Sam. has "anādisthaijāto nadí-mānuṣí-nāmnah" iv. 201 and "ādisthaijād-ekāc-śarāder abhakṣyavastrayoh" iv. 591 and so on.

Similarly Su. prefers using vṛddhādyac to having a new technical term vṛddha. Thus for "udícāṃ vṛddhād agotrāt" iv. 1.157 Su. has "vṛddhyādyaco' gotrāt v. 2.107.

Since HN. uses "Vṛsṇíndra" for "vṛddhi," its term for "vṛddha" is naturally "ādivṛsṇíndra."

In CA. also vṛddha is used in this technical sense. Thus we have the rule "vṛddhenaikākṣareṇa svarāntena" iv. 55 on which the commentator says:

avagṛhyāt svarād yas tu taddhito vṛddhimān bhavet ekājvṛddhi-svarāntesu na caivâvagraho bhavet.

P. vṛddhir yasyācām ādis tad vṛddham. en· prācāṃ deśe. tyadādíni-ca. i. 1.73-75.

J. yasyākṣvādyaib duh. deśa evain· śaiṣike. prāg deśe. tyadādih. vā khoh i. 1.83-87.

Sāk. nāma duh. tyadādih. yasyākṣvādir ādaic. deśa evain· chādau. prāgdeśe. i. 1.17-21.

Hc. saṃjñā dur vā. tyadādih. vṛddhir yasya svareṣvādih. edod deśa eveyādau. prāgdeśe. vi. 1. 6-10.

PR. tyadādi-vṛddhy-ākārādi-svarā vṛddhāh pare tu vā. vṛddha-saṃjñakāh i. 1177.

HN. ā-ai-au-rāmā yasyādi-sarveśvarāh sa ādivṛsṇíndrasaṃjñah, tad-yad-ādayaś ca. vṛddha-saṃjña ity-anye. Vṛtti on Taddhita 263.

BVRSSMV

The following well-known stanza containing 'vṛddha' is found in works on Subhāṣita:

"सर्वस्य द्वे" जगति नियते सम्पदापच्च जन्तोर्
"वृद्धो यूना" सह परिचयात् त्यज्यते कामिनीभिः ।
"एको गोत्रे" भवति पुरुषः सम्पदामाश्रयो यः
"स्त्री पुंवच्च" प्रभवति यदा विद्धि गेहं प्रनष्टम् ॥*

"Each has double"—prosperity and adversity are the inevitable lot of every creature.

"The elder, when with the younger"—young maids get friendly, is left in the lurch.

"One in a family"—there is only one such and he is the one who is prosperous.

"Feminine like masculine"—when this begins, know the house is ruined.

BHUTA-KARANA.

Bhūta-karaṇa is a very apt name given to the augment in the Prātiśākhyas of AV. and in K. In the original Indo-European language the so-called tenses had no time-signification. They only denoted differences in the aspect of the action. The augment† was prefixed to the Imperfect, Plu-

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*This is a Samasyāpūraṇa with Pāṇini viii. 1. 1; i.2.65; iv. 1. 93; i. 2. 66. S R B reads the first half thus:

सर्वस्य द्वे सुमतिकुमती सम्पदापत्तिहेतू
एको गोत्रे प्रभवति पुमान् यः कुटुम्बं बिभर्ति ।

Then it reads our *b* and *d* in which it has *taddhi* for *viddhi*.

†The augment is found in Sanskrit, Avesta, Greek, Armenian and Phrygian. It has disappeared from Latin and other I. E. languages.

BVB Sri Sankaracharya Sanskrit Mahavidyalaya 678

perfect, Aorist and Conditional to express past time. This is why it is called "Bhūta-karaṇa" (lit. maker of past sense or past tenses) in Sanskrit grammar.

Philologists distinguish between two classes of augments. When in the parent language, it was prefixed to a verb beginning with a consonant and formed a syllable by itself, it is called the syllabic augment, e.g., I. E.* *e-bher-e-t*, *Skt. a-bhar-a-t*, *Gk. e-pher-e*, Arm. *e-ber*. This is "aṭ" in Pāṇini (lun··lan··lṛn··kṣvaḍ udāttaḥ vi. 4.71).

When the augment was contracted with the initial vowel of the verb, it is known as the temporal augment. Thus I. E.* *esṃ* (*e-es-ṃ*), Skt. *āsam* (*a-as-am*), Gk. *ea* (*e-es-ṃ*). This is "āṭ" acc. to Pāṇini (āḍ ajādīnām vi. 4. 72).

It will be noticed that Bhūta-karaṇa is the common name for both these varieties of augment.

Bopp identified the augment with the privative particle "a" by which *elusa* was thought to have come to mean 'I loosed once', because it started with the meaning 'I am not loosing now'. Bopp's opponents naturally asked how it was possible to believe that when primitive man wished to say 'I have seen,' he said, 'I do not see now'.

CA. bhūtakaraṇasya ca iii. 49.

And (the a) of the augment (with the initial ṛ short or long of a root becomes ar).

APr. has "bhūta-kara" for "bhūta-karaṇa." Here, we find dur-dvayayor bhūta-karasya lopaḥ 49c. i.e., in the two 'dur's the augment has been elided.

K. bhūtakaraṇa-vatyaś ca ii. 1. 14.

'The (three) tenses with the augment are used to denote past time.'

The Vṛtti on this rule runs thus: bhūtaḥ kālaḥ karaṇam, tad vidyate yāsām iti pāriśeṣyād hyastanyadytanī-kriyāti-

pattaya eva ruḍhāh. etō bhūtakaraṇa-vatyas tisro vibhaktayo' títe kāle bhavanti. akarot, akārṣít, akariṣyat.

The dissolution of the compound as a Karmadhāraya would go to show that the meaning of the word had already become obscure by the time of the Vṛtti-kāra. It will also be noticed that the author of the Vṛtti uses "vibhakti" in the sense of "lakāra" of the Pāṇinian system.

SARVANAMASTHANA, PADA AND BHA.

Indian grammarians were familiar with the distinction between strong, middle and weak endings in the declension of nominal stems from a very early period. In the Aṣṭādhyāyí the strong endings -su, -au, -jas, -am, -au in the case of masculine and feminine stems and -jas and -śas in the case of neuter ones are designated Sarvanāmasthāna. For the middle and weak endings there are no special names, but a stem is termed pada before the middle endings (-bhyām, -bhis, -bhyas and -sup) and bha before the weak endings (-śas, -ṭā, -n·e, -n·asi, -n·as, -os, -ām and -n·i). We shall deal with these terms one by one.

Sarvanāmasthāna.

Next to Karmapravacaníya, Sarvanāmasthāna is the longest technical term in the Aṣṭādhyāyí. Annotators and commentators of the Pāṇini school have been hard put to it to find a rational explanation of this sesquipedalion word and they can put forward no acceptable reason for the use of the word by Pāṇini who often uses monosyllabic technical terms like ṭi, ghu, bha etc. Thus the Nyāsa says:

पूर्वाचार्य्यैरेवेयं प्रयोजनमन्तरेण महती संज्ञा प्रणीता। तस्या इह समाश्रयणं यत् तत् ततकृतस्य शब्दानुशासनस्य शास्त्रस्य दोषवत्त्वसूचनार्थम्;

तत् पुनः स्वशास्त्रस्य पुनरुक्तादोषपरिहारार्थम्। यदि हि तद्दोषवद् भवति, एवमस्य प्रणयनं युज्यते, नान्यथा।

'It is the ancient teachers who have coined this big technical term for no reason whatsoever. The use of the term in this work is to show the defective character of the grammars composed by them. And that is done to show that our author's work is not superfluous, for if the previous works are defective then only is the composition of a new treatise on the subject justified, not otherwise.'

Haradatta in his Padamañjarí quotes the correct views of his predecessors and yet fails to see the point. Following in the footsteps of Jinendrabuddhi he says:

अतः संज्ञा तावत् कर्तव्या। किमर्थं तु महती क्रियते? केचिदाहुः —सर्वं नाम तिष्ठत्यस्मिन्निति सर्वनामस्थानम्। नाम प्रातिपदिकम्। सर्वशब्दोऽवयवकार्त्स्न्यपरः। सर्वावयवयुक्तं यत्र नाम तिष्ठतीत्यर्थः। तेनान्यत्र न्यूनं नाम तिष्ठतीत्यर्थो गम्यते। किं सिद्धं भवति? उपेयुष इत्यादौ सम्प्रसारणे कृते पूर्वकृतस्येटो निवृत्तिः सिद्धा भवति, अन्यथा निवृत्तिकारणाभावादवतिष्ठेतेति। एवं तु कस्मिन् प्रातिपदिके किं न्यूनमिति न ज्ञायेत। तस्मात् पूर्वाचार्यानुपालब्धुमेषा महती संज्ञा क्रियते। Padamañjarí, Vol. I, pp. 88-89.

'Thus it is established that a technical term has to be coined. But why is such a big one framed? Some say: the whole Nāman remains in it, so it is named Sarvanāmasthāna. Nāman means Prātipadika or stem, sarva denotes the entirety of the parts. So the meaning is: where the stem remains with all the parts intact, the implied sense being that before other endings the stem suffers loss or reduction in some of its parts. What purpose does this serve? When there is Samprasāraṇa in words like upeyuṣah, the disappearance of the *i* that has been already brought in is

effected (because of the implied sense). Otherwise (if the term Sarvanāmasthāna were not used and consequently if the implied sense were absent) because of the absence of any ground for disappearance it would remain. Even so it is not possible to know what is wanting in what Prātipadika. So this big technical term has been framed to rebuke the older Ācāryas.'

The author of the Prakriyāsarvasva mentions the view of Haradatta:

सर्वनामस्थानसंज्ञा कृत्स्नशब्दस्थितेरिह ।
शिसुटोः खल्वलोपादिर्न दाम्ना* पपुषे दिवत् ।
पूर्वाचार्योपहासार्थं तद् वैफल्याद्धरोऽब्रवीत् ॥

'The endings are designated Sarvanāmasthāna, because the entire word (Sarvanāman) remains here. Before -śi and -suṭ syncopation etc. do not take place as in the case of 'dāmnā' and 'papuṣā' (in dāmnā there is elision of the 'a' of 'dāman', in 'papuṣā' there is the elision of the 'i' of 'papivas' and the reduction of 'va' to 'u'). Haradatta said that the term was used for holding up the older grammarians to ridicule, as no useful purpose was served by it.'

Bhaṭṭoji in his Śabdakaustubha is unable to explain the significance of the name and contents himself with the remark: mahāsaṃjñākaraṇam pūrvācaryānurodhād 'the formulation of the big technical term is out of deference to older grammarians'.

Sṛṣṭidhara, a Bengali grammarian of the 17th century, gives very nearly the correct explanation—the explanation rejected by Haradatta—in his commentary on the Bhāṣāvṛtti:

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*The Madras edition from which this extract is taken reads 'vapuṣetivat' which is evidently due to the similarity of 'p' and 'b' or 'v' in several South Indian scripts.

सर्वनामस्थानमिति महती संज्ञा—सर्वेषां नाम्नां प्रातिपदिकानां स्थानमिहेति—अत्र हि सर्वाण्येव प्रातिपदिकानि स्वरूपेणैवावतिष्ठन्ते, शसादिषु तु भत्व-पदत्वादिभिर्विकृतानि भवन्तीति बोधयति।

'The big term Sarvanāmasthāna is used, the sense being there is room for all the Prātipadikas here. All the Prātipadikas retain their forms intact in the case of these endings. Before -śas etc. they undergo syncopation etc. on account of their becoming bha, pada etc.'

The explanation rejected by Haradatta is to be preferred to that of Sṛṣṭidhara, since that does away with the necessity of vyadhikaraṇa bahuvrīhi and is moreover the more apt and more natural explanation. But the above two explanations which ultimately amount to the same thing have not found favour with the grammarians of the Pāṇini school, because in the artificial system of Pāṇini the suffixes postulated by older grammarians were discarded in favour of what were considered simpler or more conducive to brevity (lāghava). According to the predecessors of Pāṇini comparatives are formed with íyans which is retained in the strong cases but suffers the loss of the nasal before the weak and middle endings. Similarly perfect and present participles were formed with -vans and -ant respectively. Pāṇini, however, found that these full forms occur only in five cases, whereas the reduced forms occur in the remaining sixteen cases, so he postulated the suffixes as -íyas, -vas, -at etc. to secure lāghava (brevity) and prescribed a *n* as āgama in the strong cases of the stems. So it is not possible for the grammarians of the Pāṇini school to realise fully how the full form suffered reduction or weakening before the middle endings and how it was retained before the strong endings. One really expected Pāṇini to use the monosyllabic pratyāhāra sut for the strong endings. But the Acc. pl. of the

neuter stood in his way and moreover 'suṭ' is an augment in the Aṣṭādhyāyí.

The Prātiśakhyas of AV. use the term Pañcapadí for the strong cases, because they comprise the first five endings.

vasvantasya pañcapadyām CA. i. 88.*

oṣadher apañcapadyām CA. iii. 5.

antahpade'pi pañcapadyām CA. iii. 59.

cakṣuṣam iti pañcapadyām APr.iii. 1. 13b

catvāri kṣaiprāś ca pañcapadyām antodāttādinyāyāt Apr. i. 14.

The Kātantra school, ever unwilling to sacrifice simplicity to brevity, reads -íyansu, -vansu and -śantṛn for -íyasun, -kvasu and -śatr of the Pāṇini school, so the technical term sarvanāmasthāna is significant in the treatises of this school, yet by a curious irony of fate, this school, though preserving the ancient self-explanatory terms in most cases, has substituted the meaningless ghuṭ (pañcādau ghuṭ) in this particular case, though it has retained the corresponding term sārvadhātuka in the Ākhyāta-section and uses also guṇavṛddhisthāna in Ākhyāta 148. 'Ghuṭ' is evidently coined after the pratyāhāra 'suṭ' of the Pāṇini school. Gh was probably put in at the beginning as being the fourth consonant of the first varga even as sarvanāmasthāna comprises the first four vibhakhis, counting the two 'au's as one, 'ghuṭ' comprising the four case-endings -su, -au, -jas and -am.

Candra uses 'śi' and 'suṭ' for sarvanāmasthāna. Cf. "śisuṭi" v. 3. 7 corresponding to Pāṇini's "sarvanāmasthāne câsambuddhau" vi. 4. 8.

Devanandin uses dha (śyanapsuṭ dham i. 1. 32). 'Ghi' is used for 'laghu' in this system. 'Ghu' is avoided for

*It is worthy of note that CA. names the suffix *-vasu* and not *-vansu*.

some reason or other. Consequently the fourth letter of the fourth varga is used.

Śākaṭāyana uses 'śyanapsuṭ' throughout. Cf. śyanapsuṭyan i. 2. 109.

Hemacandra and Puruṣottama follow K. and use 'ghuṭ'.

Kramadīśvara uses 'suṭ'. Cf. suṭi vṛddhis tṛn·ādeh vi. 58. On this Goyīcandra says in his commentary:

सुडिति प्रथमैकवचनाद्यौट्पर्यन्तस्य ग्रहणमिति शास्त्रान्तरीयः प्रत्याहारः। तस्यैवात्र ग्रहणम्। एतदेव सूचयितुमौटष्टकारानुबन्धः शास्त्रान्तर इवेहापि कृतः।

Sār. uses caturṣu. Candrakīrti and others following Pāṇini and K. read 'pañcasu'. 'Caturṣu' is used in Sam. in the sense of sārvadhātuka for 'caturṣu lakāreṣu'.

Vopadeva uses 'ghi'. The 'gh' corresponds to 'caturṣu' of Sār, being the fourth consonant, i being added, as in the case of ji, for ease of utterance, or the 'gh' might have been borrowed from 'ghuṭ' of K. Pāṇini uses 'ghi' in an altogether different sense. Since the nominative dual is identical with the accusative dual in each and every case, Vopadeva with his hard clear intellect cannot bring himself to use 'au' for the one and 'auṭ' for the other.

Supadma compresses 'sarvanāmasthāna' into 'sādisthāna' where 'sa' stands either for the Nominative singular ending or for 'sarvanāman'. Viṣṇumiśra in his Supadmamakaranda remarks:

niranvayeyaṃ saṃjñā. idam eva sarvanāmasthānam ityuktaṃ muninā i.e. this technical term is meaningless. This very term has been designated 'sarvanāmasthāna' by the sage (Pāṇini).

HN. uses Kṛṣṇasthāna for sarvanāmasthāna, just as it

uses Kṛṣṇanāman for sarvanāman and Kṛṣṇadhātuka for Sārvadhatuka.

पा। शि सर्वनामस्थानम्। सुडनपुंसकस्य। १।१।४२-३

का। पञ्चादौ घुट्। जस्-शसौ नपुंसके। २।१।३-४

जै। ह्यनप्सुट् धम्। १।१।३२ (शि अ-नप्-सुट्। नप् =नपुंसक।)

हे। शिर्घुट्। पुंस्त्रियोः स्यमौजस्। १।१।२८-९

मु। स्यमौजस् घिः। शिः क्लीबे। ८२-८३

सु। शिः सुट् चाक्लीबस्य सादिस्थानम्। २।३।६

प्र। घुटः स्यौजसमौ स्त्रीपुंसयोः स्युः। शिर्नपुंसके। २।१७८-९

ह। अत्रह्मपाण्डवाः शिश्च कृष्णस्थान-संज्ञाः। घुट्-संज्ञा इत्येके। सर्वनामस्थानसंज्ञा इत्यन्ये। १।२२५

With the use of 'sthāna' in Sarvanāmasthāna we may compara 'nivṛttisthāna' in the Nirukta and 'guṇa-vṛddhi-sthāna' in K.

Most of the purposes served by sarvanāmasthāna are served by suṭ, but suṭ is unfortunate for two reasons: first, there is the anubandha ṭ of au, secondly, there is the āgama suṭ.

Pada

In RV. Pada means a step. Thus Viṣṇu is said to have covered the three worlds with his three padas (tríṇi padā vícakrame i. 22. 18) and we are often reminded of the "paramapada" or highest step (RV. i. 22. 20 etc.) of Viṣṇu. Now when each quarter of a stanza (or each third in the case of Gāyatrí stanzas and each fifth in the case of Pan·ktis) came to be regarded as a step to the expression of the full mean-

ing of the stanza (pāde pāde samāpyante prayeṇârthā avântarāh—Ven·kaṭamādhava on RV. vi. 8. 14) it came to be regarded as a pada (cf. arthah padam VP. iii. 2). AB. speaks of "ekādaśākṣarāṇi padāni" i. 6 or verses consisting of eleven syllables. AA. (ii. 2. 2) says: eṣa vai padam. eṣa imāni sarvāṇi bhūtāni pādi. sa yad imāni sarvāṇi bhūtāni pādi tasmāt padam. tasmāt padam ityācakṣata etam eva santam. "He is a quarter-verse, for he has entered all these beings. Because he has entered all these beings, he is a quarter-verse. Therefore they call him who is (prāṇa) a quarter-verse." When the seers proceeded still further in their analysis and regarded each word composing a sentence as such a step, words came to be looked upon as padas. In the case of compounds the sense of each component helps to express the idea of the whole, so each component was regarded as a pada. In the case of certain suffixes and endings the base of a word behaves exactly as it does when it is used as the previous part of a compound, e.g., *vidvas* becomes *vidvad* before -bhyam, -bhis, -bhyas and -sup exactly as it becomes *vidvad* before *gaṇa*, *vṛnda* etc., so stems came to be regarded as padas before -bhyam, -bhis, -bhyas, -sup and taddhita suffixes beginning with consonants except y. Thus in the Pada-pāṭha of Śākalya not only are the words of the hymn taken separately, but compounds are often analysed into two component parts and single words into prakṛti and pratyaya, prātipadika and vibhakti.*

Every system of grammar with the exception of Mu. and HN. uses the term "pada". Even J., the guide of Vopadeva in the matter of technical terms, had not the temerity to shorten 'pada'. Vopadeva uses the second syl-

*Cf. CA. iv. 31-32: bhiṭ- bhyām-bhyas-su. sau ca.

lable 'da' for 'pada' and HN. prefixes the word Viṣṇu to it and changes it into Viṣṇupada. But centuries before Vopadeva, RT. and ST. had used 'da' for 'pada' (da mu RT. 68, de no mūrdhanyam 272. Vide Suryakanta, p. 36).

K. takes pains to define Pada at great length: pūrvaparayor arthopalabdhau padam i. 1. 20—a definition which combines the ancient definition "arthah padam" with the more modern one "vibhaktyantaṃ padam". As the Vṛtti explains: pūrva-parayoh prakṛti-vibhaktyor arthopalabdhau satyāṃ samudāyah pada-saṃjño bhavati. The Ṭīkā says: pūrva-parayoh samudāyah artha-pratipattihetuh padam. Suṣeṇa in his commentary on this rule mentions the different views: arthah padam āhur Aindrāh, vibhaktyantaṃ padam āhur Āpiśaliyāh, sup-tin--antaṃ padam Pāṇiniyāh, ihârthopalabdhau padam iti Vararucih. "vibhaktyantaṃ padam" no doubt means exactly the same thing as "sup-tin--antaṃ padam," still it serves to show that Āpiśali generally used the bigger technical terms and was probably unacquainted with the pratyāharas *sup* and *tin-*.

The reference to Vararuci is not clear. It appears to be an extract from Vararuci's Vṛtti on K.

According to commentators "parvan" is used in the sense of "pada" in VP. i. 138: antareṇa parvaṇi. In the Nirukta and CA. iv. 77 "parvan" means 'a member of a compound'.

Caṇdra uses "pada" in "apādādau padād ekavākye" vi. 3. 15 without defining it. The Vṛtti gives the orthodox explanation: padyate gamyate nenârtha iti padam.

Similarly Sam. uses the word though it does not define it. The middle endings -bhyam, -bhis, -bhyas and -sup it denotes by bhādi and the weak endings by śasādyac.

वा प्रा। अर्थः पदम्। ३।२ अक्षरसमुदायः पदम्। अक्षरं वा। ८।४६-४७

पा। सुप्तिङन्तं पदम्। नः क्ये। सिति च। स्वादिष्वसर्वनामस्थाने। १।४।१४-१७

का। पूर्वपरयोरर्थोपलब्धौ पदम्। १।१।२०

कौ। वर्णसङ्घातः पदम्। २।१०।२८

जै। सुम्मिङन्तं पदम्। नः क्ये। सिति। स्वादावधे। १।२।११६-११९

शा। सुङ् (सुप्+तिङ्) पदम्। नं क्ये। सिद्वल्यधातोः। न वृत्त्यन्तः। स्तं मत्वर्थे। मनुर्नभोऽङ्गिरो वति। १।१।६२-७

हे। (स्यादिर्विभक्तिः १।१।१९) तदन्तं पदम्। नाम सिब्बहुलं। नं क्ये। न स्तं मत्वर्थे। मनुर्नभोऽङ्गिरो वति। वृत्त्यन्त्योऽसर्वे। १।१।२०-५

सा। विभक्त्यन्तं पदं स्मृतम्। उपोद्घातः।

स। सुप्तिङन्तं पदम्। १।१०१ वृत्तिः।

मु। क्त्यन्तान्यौ दली १४, दान्तवत् सभि ८४, अघ्यचूताच्यप पिः १०१, न दं तसौ त्वस्त्यर्थे च। ४३२

सु। सुप्तिङन्तं पदम्। नः क्येङौ। सुप्तद्धितेऽयचि। न तसौ मत्वर्थे। वति नभोऽङ्गिरोमनुषः। २।३।१-५

प्र। ससुब्लिङ्ग-सतिङ्धात्वोरर्थानुभावकः पदम्। १।३३

ह। विष्णुभक्तिसिद्धं विष्णुपदम्। १।१५५

आलङ्कारिकाः। श्लोकपादं पदं केचित् सुप्तिङन्तमथापरे।
परेऽवान्तरवाक्यैकस्वरूपं पदमूचिरे॥

Bha.

The technical term "bha"* as the name of the stem before the weak endings is peculiar to Pāṇini, J. and Su. 'Bha' may be the first syllable of "bhan·ga" or "bhagna" because before weak endings the stem often undergoes reduction or syncopation. Or "bha" might have been suggested to the grammarians by the 'bha' found in -bhis, -bhyām and -bhyas, which are termed 'bhādi' by Kramadīśvara. Since in the case of these endings the prātipadika is regarded as a pada, "bha" came to denote the other class. Lucas a non lucendo! In RT. 'bha' stands for 'stobha'.

K. generally uses a-ghuṭ-svarâdi. Cf. "aghuṭ-svare lopam" ii. 2. 37, "aghuṭsvarâdau seṭkasyâpi vanser vaśabdasyotvam" ii. 2. 46, etc.

PR. follows K. Cf. "a-ghuṭsvareṣu dhātūnām ālopah" ii. 216, "aghuṭ-svareṣu lopy'ono'kārah saṃyugvamāsthitah" ii. 329.

Candra uses "yac aśisuṭ" for Pāṇini's "bha". Cf. the adhikāra rule "yacy aśisuti" v. 3. 126 for Pāṇini's "bhasya" vi. 4. 129.

Sam. generally uses "śasādyac". Cf. "śasādyacyato yugvamah" vi. 193, "dhātor āl-luk śasādyaci" vi. 49 etc. It has also the atideśa rule "taddhita-yâcau śasādi" vi. 217.

HN. uses "Bhagavat" the name of God beginning with 'bha' for Pāṇini's "bha". It has a separate name Yadu for śasādi endings (śasādayo Yadu-saṃjñāh) and another Vṛṣṇi for the n·it endings n·e, n·asi, n·as and n·i (n·ito Vṛṣṇisaṃjñāh i. 181).

Mu. uses "pi" to cover most cases of "bha". "Pi" ap-

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*'Bha' is also a taddhita suffix in Pāṇini. It is added to "śam" to form the word "śambha" according to v. 2. 138.

pears to have been formed with the 'p' of 'pada' with 'i' to round it off. "Pi" is thus defined by Vopadeva: aghyac tācyep pih 101 (which is thus explained in the Vṛtti: ghi-varja-syāder ac ta-saṃjñāv ac-yakārau ip ca—ete pi-saṃjñāh syuh) i.e., the vowels of the case-terminations except the strong ones, the vowels and y of taddhita suffixes and the feminine suffix -í are regarded as "pi". It must be noted in this connection that in the system of Pāṇini the stem is designated 'bha' before these endings and suffixes, whereas in Mu. it is the endings and suffixes that are designated "pi". It will be noticed that Mu. has three technical terms "pi", "bhi", and "ghi" for the case-endings. Vopadeva must have got the idea of "pi" from pada, that of "bhi" from either -bhyām, -bhis, -bhyas or from Pāṇini's "bha", and that of "ghi" from K's "ghuṭ".

पा। यचि भम्। तसौ मत्वर्थे। अयस्मयादीनि च्छन्दसि। १।४।१८-२०

जै। यचि भः। मनुर्नभोऽङ्गिरो वति। वृष्णोऽश्ववसौ। मत्वर्थे स्तौ। १।४।१२०-१२३

सु। यचि भमसादिस्थाने। २।३।५

ह। अकृष्णस्थानसर्वेश्वरो भगवत्संज्ञस्तद्धिते यश्च। १।२३२

SARVADHATUKA AND ARDHADHATUKA.

Exactly corresponding to Sarvanāmasthāna in the section on declension Pāṇini has Sārvadhātuka in the section on conjugation. In ancient times the vikaraṇa was regarded as part and parcel of the root, so those endings before which the vikaraṇa was preserved were known as sārvadhā-

tuka endings, because the endings were added to the entire root, and those that were added to the root without vikaraṇa were known as ārdhadhātuka endings, because before these endings, only half the root i.e. a part of the root was discernible. The earlier form of the word was sārvadhātukā which was used by Āpiśali and which, as an adjective to vibhakti, was naturally feminine. It is clear from this that even at the time of Āpiśali the word was felt to be self-explanatory, but at the time of Pāṇini it had become fossilised and was looked upon as a mere technical term without any meaning. So after the analogy of sarvanāmasthāna, sārvadhātukā lost its feminine suffix.

K. which uses "ghuṭ" for "sarvanāmasthāna" preserves "sārvadhātuka" in its later neuter form, though its commentators like those of the Pāṇini system, have failed to find any sense in the word: sārvadhātukam. napuṃsakaṃ lokatah siddham. pūrvācārya-saṃjñā. niranvayeyam. Ṭīkā. sārvadhātukam iti pūrvācārya-prasiddheyaṃ saṃjñā niranvayā svabhāvato napuṃsaklin-gam. Pañji.

"Sārvadhatuka" appears to have been formed with '-ṭhak' like prātipadika in the sense of 'gṛhṇāti' (sarvadhātuṃ gṛhṇāti) or in the sense of 'tasyedam'. Though words formed with -ṭhak and -ṭhañ take í in the feminine, still sārvadhātuka follows the analogy of prathamā, dvitíyā, tṛtíyā, vartamānā etc., and takes ā. In the commentary (Gūḍhārthaprakāśikā) on PR. the word is derived thus:

सर्वधातुरेव सार्वधातुकः। स्वार्थे कः। तत्र भवम् इत्यण्। तत्र जातं दृश्यञ्च भवं क्षुण्णं समुद्धृतम् (७।१०३२) इत्यणि आदौ वृद्धिः। अथवा सर्वधातुषु भव इत्यर्थे भवतस्तु वा (१।११८२)

इति तुशब्दस्य चकारार्थतया भवतश्च हेतुसर्वधातुभ्याञ्च कण् इत्यर्थतया हैतुक-सार्वधातुक-पदद्वयसिद्धिरिति ।

As has already been mentioned the endings were known as "sārvadhātukā" in the Āpiśali system. Thus Vāmana says in the Kāśikā: "Āpiśalās tu-ru-stuśamyamah sārvadhātukāsu cchandasíti paṭhanti" (vii. 3. 95) on which Jinendrabuddhi says: "strílin·ga-sārvadhātukā-śabdasya saṃjñāt--venâpiśalinā praṇítatvāt." Haradatta also says the same thing: "ṭābantaṃ tatra saṃjñātvena viniyuktam."

J. uses "ga" for "sārvadhātuka" and "a-ga" for "ārdhadhātuka." Was "ga" suggested by "gaṇa" or is it a part of "samagra", a synonym of "sarva"?

Candra, as usual, avoids these technical terms, but following Pāṇini's rule "tin·śit sārvadhātukam" iii. 4. 113 uses "tin·śit" instead. For "ārdhadhātuka" Candra uses "a-tin·śit", even as K. uses "a-sārvadhātuka."

Śākaṭāyana uses "ślela" for "sārvadhātuka," 'ś' standing for 'śit', 'le' for 'leṭ' and 'len·' and 'la' for 'laṭ' and 'lan·'. Thus for Pāṇini's "sārvadhātuke yak" iii. 1. 67 Śākaṭāyana has "ślele yak" iv. 3. 19 and for Pāṇini's "sārvadhātukam apit" i. 2. 4 Śākaṭāyana has "ślyablau" iv. 1. 147. Śākaṭāyana uses 'leṭ' for Pāṇini's 'loṭ' and 'len·' for Pāṇini's 'lin·'.

He. uses "śit" for "sārvadhātuka" and "a-śit" for "ārdhadhātuka."

Kramadíśvara uses "catur" or "caturlaḍādi" for "sārvadhātuka" and "a-catur" for "ārdhadhātuka" without defining the terms, as "catur" is sufficiently self-explanatory, referring as it does to the first four lakāras. Cf. śadaś caturṣu ii. 85 (laḍādiṣu caturṣu kartavyeṣu—Ṭíkā). caturlaḍādau śan· bhūṇyādeh ii. 193 (kramāt kathyamaneṣu caturṣu laṭ loṭ lan· vidhyādilin·ṣu pareṣu. Vṛtti).

Mu. uses "ra" for "sārvadhātuka" and "a-ra" for "ārdhadhātuka". The "ra" was probably suggested by the "ra" of "sārvadhātuka". But unfortunately it occurs in 'ārdhadhātuka' also.

HN. uses "Kṛṣṇadhātuka" for "sārvadhātuka" and "Rāmadhātuka" for "ārdhadhātuka," because Kṛṣṇa is regarded as the pūrṇāvatāra (full incarnation) and Rāma as the aṃśāvatāra (partial incarnation) of the Supreme Being.

पा। तिङ् शित् सार्वधातुकम्। आर्धधातुकं शेषः। लिट् च। लिङाशिषि। छन्दस्युभयथा। ३।४।११३-११७

का। षडाद्याः सार्वधातुकम्। ३।१।३४

जै। मिङ् शिद् गः। शेषोऽग एव। लिट्। लिङाशिषि २।४।९५-९८

हे। एताः शितः। ३।३।१०

एता वर्तमाना-सप्तमी-पञ्चमी-ह्यस्तन्यः शितः शानुबन्धा चेदितव्याः। बृहद्वृत्तिः।

मु। पञ्च रः शिच्च। ५३१

सु। शिल्लट्लोट्लिङ्लङः सार्वधातुकम्। शेषमलुङार्धधातुकम्। ३।२।१७-१८

सार्वधातुकमिति गुरुसंज्ञा पूर्वाचार्यप्रसिद्ध्येह निबद्धा। अतः स्वभावतो नपुंसकलिङ्गमपि। मकरन्दः।

प्र। आद्या लिङ्लोटौ च ह्यस्तन्यपि च शिच्च शित्। ८।५४

वर्तमाना लिङ् लोट् ह्यस्तनी शनुबन्धाश्च प्रत्ययाः शित्-संज्ञाः स्युः। अनुबन्ध इदिति पर्यायौ, शित् सार्वधातुकमिति च। वृत्तिः।

ह। अच्युतादयः पञ्च शिवश्च कृष्णधातुकाः। सार्वधातुकानीत्येके। अन्ये प्रत्यया रामधातुकाः। आर्धधातुकानीत्येके। १।३८४-३८५

ṬI.

"Ṭi" is one of the few monosyllabic technical terms used by Pāṇini. It stands at the head of the artificial technical terms used in grammar. It means the last vowel in a word or stem along with the final consonant or consonants, if any. It may have been suggested to the ancient grammarians by the word 'koṭi' which means 'the end of a bow.' It may be noted in this connexion that āgamas having 'ṭ' as an indicatory letter come at the beginning (ādyantau ṭakitau i. 1. 46).

Ṭi occurs also in the Uṇādisūtras; e.g., "avateṣ ṭi-lopaś ca" i. 141, "siveṣ ṭer ū ca" iv. 93.

K. uses 'svara antya' for 'ṭi'. Thus for Pāṇini's "avyaya-sarvanāmnām akac prāk ṭeh" v. 3. 71, K. has "avyaya-sarvanāmnah svārad antyāt pūrvo'k kah" ii. 2. 64.

C. follows K. and uses 'antyâjādi' for 'ṭi'. Thus for Pāṇini's "ṭeh" vi. 4. 143 C. has "antyājādeh" v. 3. 138.

J., Sār. and Mu. retain this word as it consists of only one syllable.

Following in the footsteps of Candra, Śāk. uses "antyâjādi" for "ṭi". Thus for Pāṇini's "tur iṣṭhemeyassu" and "ṭeh" vi. 3. 154-155 Śāk. has "trantyâjādeh" ii. 3. 57.

Hc. also uses "svareṣvantya" in "tyādi-sarvādeh svareṣvantyāt pūrvo'k" vii. 3. 29 and "antya-svarādi" in "antya-svarādeh" vii. 4. 43.

Sam. uses "svara-tacchesa" for "ṭi". Thus for Pāṇini's "ṭeh" vi. 4. 143 it has "ḍiti svara-tacchesayor luk".

PR. also avoids "ṭi" and generally uses "antyasvarādi".

HN. uses "saṃsāra" for "ṭi" probably because "saṃsāra" is the end of our worldly existence and after the extinction of 'saṃsāra' there is 'salvation'.

It will be noticed that those grammars which do not recognise the technical term "ṭi" generally use "antyasvarâdi" or "antyâjādi" for it and use "svarād antyāt" or "svareṣvantyāt" or "aco'ntyāt" or "akṣvantyāt" pūrvam or param when some grammatical operation is prescribed before or after "ṭi".

पा। अचोऽन्त्यादि टि १।१।६४

जै। ट्यन्ताद्यचः १।१।७६

सा। अन्त्यस्वरादिष्टिः १।१२

मु। अन्त्याजादिष्टिः ९३

सु। अचोऽन्त्यादि टि १।१।३०

ह। अन्त्यसर्वेश्वरादिवर्णाः संसारसंज्ञाः १।१८६

GHU

The roots "dā" and "dhā" present many points of resemblance in conjugation—points in which they differ from other roots of their class. Hence grammarians have found it easier to have one term denoting both. The earliest term appears to be "dā" which is found in the Kātantra system (ii. 1. 8) and which is taken as an upalakṣaṇa.*: Pāṇini uses "ghu", presumably a shortened form of "laghu". For some reason or other Devanandin avoids "ghu"; for "laghu" he has "ghi" (i. 2. 111) and for "ghu" of the Pāṇini system he uses 'bhu' (i. 1. 28). Śāk. sees no reason to vary the generally accepted term and retains "ghu" (i. 1. 23). Hc., as usual, follows K. and uses the upalaksaṇa "dā" (iii. 3. 5) and he is followed by Vopadeva 535.

Padamanābha, as usual, follows Pāṇini.

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*स्वप्रतिपादकत्वे सति स्वेतरप्रतिपादकत्वम् उपलक्षणत्वम्।

Kramadīśvara alone of the well-known gramarians appears to have framed no saṃjñā for dā and dhā (cf. "dādhor hali ca" ii. 345).

PR. follows K.

HN. takes the name of Viṣṇu beginning with dā and uses "Dāmodara" as the technical term for "dā" and "dhā".

पा। दाधाघ्वदाप् २।१।२०

फा। अदाव् दाधौ दा ३।१।८

जै। दा धा भ्वपित् १।१।२८

च। दोऽपः १।१।४

सा। दा धा घ्वब् १।१।२३

हे। अवौ दाधौ दा ३।३।५

मु। दा धा दा ५३५

सु। दा धा घुरप् १।१।२३

प्र। दापिद्दाधौ १०।१७८

ह। दाप्दैप्दाङो विना दाधा दामोदर-संज्ञाः १।४१६

HN. says "dā ity anye, dur ity eke" where 'du' is evidently a misprint for 'ghu'.

Śrīharṣa makes splendid use of this term in his Naiṣadha xix. 62:

दाक्षीपुत्रस्य तन्त्रे ध्रुवमयमभवत् कोऽप्यधीती कपोतः
कण्ठे शब्दौघसिद्धिक्षतबहुकठिनीशेषभूषानुयातः।
सर्वं विस्मृत्य दैवात् स्मृतिमुषसि गतां घोषयन् यो घुसंज्ञां
प्राक्संस्कारेण संप्रत्यपि धुवति शिरः पट्टिकापाठजेन॥

'This dove (whose 'ghu ghu' sound greets our ears) must certainly have been some one well-read in the science (of grammar) as propounded by the son of Dākṣí i.e. Pāṇini (in its former birth). It bears on its neck an ornamental sign, the remains of the numerous bits of chalk worn out in the

process of showing the formation of hosts of words. Though it has forgotten everything that it had learnt, even now it shakes its head, owing to the impressions of a former birth due to the (constant) reading (of grammatical operations) from wooden slates, while shouting forth the technical term "ghu" (the only thing) which it has managed to remember at dawn by a stroke of good luck'.

GHA.

Pāṇini uses the monosyllabic technical term 'gha' to denote the comparative suffix 'tara' and the superlative suffix 'tama.' 'Gha' is probably the first syllable of 'ghana' meaning 'cube'. J. uses 'jha' for these suffixes. Probably J. changes the guttural into the palatal, because there is the primary suffix 'gha' of which 'a' remains, there is the secondary suffix 'gha' which is replaced by 'iya' and so on. Śākaṭāyana prefers 'na' to 'jha'. Could this 'na' have been suggested by the second syllable of 'ghana'? Hc. as a follower of K. has no term for these suffixes. Sam., Mu, Su., PR. and HN. also do not use any technical term covering these two suffixes.

Going back to earlier treatises, the Prātiśākhyas do not appear to have a single name for -tara and -tama, for we find "taratamayoh" in CA. iv. 16 and "tara-tamayoś câtiśaye' dakṣiṇapratyāsan·ge" in VP. v. 2.

पा। तरप्-तमपौ घः १।१।२२

जै। (तमः प्रकृष्टे मिङञ्च। द्विविभज्ये तरः ४।१।१६०-१६१) तौ झः ४।१।१६२

तौ तकारादी त्यौ (=प्रत्ययौ) तम-तरौ झ-संज्ञौ स्तः। वृत्तिः।

शा। (तिङञ्च प्रकृष्टे तमप्। द्वयोर्विभज्ये च तरप् ३।४।७१-७२) तौ नः ३।४।७३

ŚRADDHA, AGNI AND NADI*.

Just as in conjugation ten roots are taken as typical of the ten conjugations, so in declension also a particular word was taken as the type of each declension. These are known as Nāyaka in the Agni Purāṇa. Thus the type of feminine ā-stems was "śraddhā," of feminine í and ū-stems that changed their í and ū to y and v before vowels was "nadí," the type of masculine i-and u-stems was "agni" and so on. As the earliest treatises on grammar have become lost beyond recovery, we can only surmise all this with the help of the scanty materials preserved in K. And even in very late times HN. uses "Kṛṣṇa" for a-stems, "Rādhā" for "śraddhā", "Hari" for "agni" and "gopí" for "nadí".

"Śraddhā", "nadí" and "agni"—all these are found in K. Pāṇini accepted "nadí†" but used the monosyllable "ghi" for "agni" and rejected "śraddhā" altogether as serving no useful purpose, representing as it does only feminine ā-stems which can easily be represented by the suffix -āp which has the great advantage of being a monosyllable. The "gh" of "ghi" would appear to be taken from "lāghava" and 'i' added to make it typical of i and u-stems. Masculine and neuter stems in i and u and feminine stems in i and u when they are not termed nadí are known as "ghi". 'Pati', though fulfilling this condition, is regarded as "ghi" only when it stands at the end of a compound.

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*For greater details see K. C. Chatterji's *Some Technical Terms of Sanskrit Grammar*, in the *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, Vol. III, No. 5.

†Feminine í and ū-stems which change their finals to *iy* and *uv* respectively are optionally designated "nadí" before

Devanandin uses "su" for "ghi". This is evidently a nice word ending in u, just as "ghi" ends in i. For "nadí" he uses "mu" modelled on this "su" with an initial nasal as in "nadí".

Śāk. follows Pāṇini in the matter of "ghi", but does not make use of any technical term corresponding to "śraddhā" or "nadí". For "dírgha" he uses "dí".

Hc., though an ardent follower of K., rejects all these terms. Compare "iduto' strer ídūt" i. 4. 21 ff.

Sam. follows C.

Vopadeva uses "ghi" for Pāṇini's 'suṭ' (syamaujas ghih 81), but follows Hc. in not having any technical terms corresponding to K.'s "śraddhā" and "agni". For "nadí" he uses "dí", the second syllable. This is a vast improvement on J's "mu".

Su. follows Pāṇini.

PR. retains all the three terms "śraddhā", "agni" and "nadí" of K.

In several rules of Pāṇini "nadí" is used in the sense of the feminine suffix 'í' *e.g.*, āc chí-nadyor num vii. 1. 80, śatur anumo nadyajādí vi. 1. 173. In "nadí bandhuni" vi. 2. 109, "nadí" is used in the sense of feminine í-stems. All this would lead one to suppose that originally "nadí" represented feminine í-stems only and that there was a separate term for feminine ū-stems.

पा। यू स्त्र्याख्यौ नदी। नेयङुवङ्स्थानावस्त्री। वामि। ङिति ह्रस्वश्च। शेषो घ्यसखि। पतिः समास एव। षष्ठीयुक्तश्छन्दसि वा। १।४।३-९

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the genitive plural ending. Feminine stems ending in i and u, short or long, are also optionally designated "nadí" before the Dative, Ablative, Genitive and Locative singular endings.

का। इदुदग्निः। ईदूत् स्त्र्याख्यौ नदी। आ श्रद्धा। २।१।८-१०

जै। यू स्त्र्याख्यौ मुः। स्त्री। आमीयुवोः। वा। ङिति प्रश्च (प्र=ह्रस्व)। स्वसखिपति। १।२।१०५-११०

शा। घ्यसख्यद्वन्द्वपतीदुत्। १।१।४०

मु। यूत् स्त्र्येव दी। नास्त्रीयुवः। वामि। स्त्रीयुच्च ङिति। ९७-१००

सु। उदितौ घिः सख्यसमासपतिवर्जम्। स्त्री स्त्रीयू चानियुवौ नदी। वाम्ङितोः सेयुवावस्त्री स्त्रीत्वे हि। ङिति ह्रस्वौ च। २।३।७-११

प्र। आप्रत्ययान्तशब्दाः श्रद्धासंज्ञाः स्युः। इदुदग्निः। २।१८२-३ वा ङ्वत्सु नदी स्त्रियाम्। २।२४५

ह। अरामान्तः कृष्णसंज्ञः। १।१५९। इउरामान्तो हरिसंज्ञः १।१७८। तत्रावन्तलक्ष्मी राधासंज्ञा श्रद्धासंज्ञा च। १।२१०। ई ऊ लक्ष्मी गोपीसंज्ञा नदीसंज्ञा च। १।२९८। (राम=वर्ण, लक्ष्मी=स्त्रीलिङ्ग)।

Even such an apparently arbitrary technical term has not escaped the attention of poets, one of whom has utilised it to make his heroine go into raptures over her lover in the following stanza:

मञ्जुलघौ सम्भावितगुणे क्वचिन्नापदाधारे।
अयि सखि तत्रोपपतौ मे चेतो न त्वनीदृशे पत्यौ॥

'O my friend, my heart is set on the lover who is young and handsome, whose qualities of head and heart command respect and who is a stranger to troubles, and not on the husband who is the reverse of all these'. The other sense is —'my heart is set on the word 'upapati' which has got the sweet designation 'ghi' (according to Pāṇini's rule "patih samasa eva*" i. 4. 3), in whose case guṇa is possible

*The corresponding rule in K. is patir asamāse ii.2.2 which has been made the subject of the following samasyā-pūraṇa stanza:

according to "gher n·iti" vii. 3. 111) and which is the receptacle of the particle nā in one case (*i.e.* in the Instrumental sing. according to ān·o nâstriyām vii. 3. 120)'.

This reminds one of a similar stanza found in works on Subhāṣita:

अयि सखि शस्तः सखिवत् पतिरिति किं त्वं न जानासि ।
शस्तोऽतिसखिवदुपपतिरिति कथं त्वयापि नावोधि ॥

'Do you not know, dear friend, that the husband is commended as a friend?' 'And is it known to you, my friend, that the lover is commended as a super-friend?' The other sense is: 'Do you not know, O friend, that grammarians direct that the word 'pati' is to be declined like the word 'sakhi'?' 'And do you not know that the word 'upapati' is to be declined like 'ati-sakhi'?'

Fortunately such stanzas are rare in Sanskrit.

Regarding 'agni' a stanza has been preserved in the Vṛtti-traya-varttika:

इरग्निः स्यान्ममाप्येतच्छार्ववर्ममतं मतम् ।
दन्दहीतितमामङ्गं कामिनां कथमन्यथा ॥

'Sarvavarman's view that i (the word i or words ending in i, and Cupid) should be regarded as fire (agni) is also my view; otherwise how does it consume the bodies of those that are in love, causing exquisite torture?'

Critics have not been slow in pointing out the paradox of Pāṇini in connection with the technical term "nadī". Thus one scholar says:

श्वश्रूर्नुदति च शश्वन्नुदति ननन्दाथ देवरो नुदति ।
प्रियसखि तथापि गेहे पतिरसमासे समाश्रित्य ॥

Subhāṣitāvali, 2396.

Sam. also has the rule. : पतिरसमासे सखिवद्वादौ vi. 127.

पाणिने र्न नदी गङ्गा यमुना वा नदी स्थली ।
प्रभुः स्वातन्त्र्यमापन्नो यदिच्छति करोति तत् ॥

Vṛttitrayavārttika 80.

'According to Pāṇini neither the Gan·gā nor the Yamunā is a river; it is land that is a river. A master possessed of independence does what he pleases.' Similarly we may say of Sarvavarman:

नानलः पावको वाग्नि र्न दावो वाडवस्तथा ।
सर्ववर्ममते चित्रं वार्यग्निर्व्यपदिश्यते ॥

Though the word "strī" changes its final into 'iy' before vocalic endings, it is designated "nadī" by grammarians. Poets have been enthusiastic in according their support to this view. Thus one bard observes:

स्त्री नदी तदिदं सत्यं रसेनाकुलिता सती ।
यतो ध्वंसं विधत्ते सा कूलवत् कुलयोरपि ॥

Vṛttitrayavārttika 109.

'Woman is river. This is a fact, for wild with passion she brings ruin on both the families (of her father and her husband), even as the river filled to over-flowing with water plays havoc with both her banks.'*

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*The idea is very common in Sanskrit literature. Compare:

व्यपदेशमाविलयितुं किमीहसे जनमिमं च पातयितुम् ।
कूलङ्कषेव सिन्धुः प्रसन्नमम्भस्तटतरुञ्च ॥ शाकुन्तल ५।२१
जामातृसम्पत्तिमचिन्तयित्वा पित्रा तु दत्ता स्वमनोऽभिलाषात् ।
कुलद्वयं हन्ति मदेन नारी कूलद्वयं क्षुब्धजला नदीव ॥ अविमारक १।३
नद्यश्च नार्यश्च सदृक्प्रभावास्तुल्यानि कूलानि कुलानि तासाम् ।
तोयैश्च दोषैश्च निपातयन्ति नद्यो हि कूलानि कुलानि नार्यः ॥ पञ्चतन्त्र १।२२३

PRATIPADIKA.

Commentators of Pāṇini do not generally take the trouble of explaining this term of five syllables. According to some it is merely for the sake of varying the monotony of the monosyllabic technical terms (prātipadikam iti mahāsaṃjñā-karaṇaṃ vaicitryârtham—*Tantrapradīpa* i. 2. 45). "It is out of deference to earlier grammarians"—rightly remarks Bhaṭṭoji in his Śabdakaustubha (mahāsaṃjñā-karaṇaṃ prācām anurodhāt). Others hold that it is Pāṇini's great veneration for the Vedas that led him to use this big term, for in the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa belonging to the Atharva Veda we find the questions: What is a Dhātu and what is a Prātipadika? (mahāsaṃjñā-karaṇaṃ śrutyanurodhāt. tathā câtharvaṇe paṭhyate—ko dhātuh kim prātipadikam kah pratyaya iti).

Sṛṣṭidhara, a Bengali commentator of the 17th century, derives the word "prātipadika" from *pratipada* 'every word' with the suffix -ṭhak, acc. to the rule "padottarapadaṃ gṛhṇāti" iv. 4. 39. So prātipadika means that which embraces every inflected word *i.e.* words like vṛkṣa etc., which are inherent in all the different inflected forms like vṛkṣam, vṛkṣān etc. (prātipadikam iti mahatyāh saṃjñāyāh pratipâdanena pratipadam gṛhṇātiti vyutpattyā "padottarapadaṃ gṛhṇāti"* (iv. 4. 39) iti ṭhaki sarveṣveva padeṣu yāni yāni vṛkṣādíni samavayanti teṣām eva saṃjñā.)

It is just possible, however, that ṭhak has been added to 'pratipada' in the sense of 'prayojana' (v. 1. 109) and the

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*It will be noticed that Pāṇini makes provision for "prātipadika", but not for "sārvadhātuka".

word "prātipadika" means that which is necessary for each inflected word ('prayojana' being tantamount to 'phala' here) since no inflected word (subanta or denominative) can be formed without the help of the prātipadika.

Monier Williams notes that 'prātipada' occurs in the Śān·khāyana Śrauta Sūtra in the sense of 'forming the commencement.' This sense is singularly applicable in our case. The prātipadika merely forms the beginning of words which cannot be used as full-fledged words unless and until the case-termination is added.

Pāṇini defines "prātipadika" thus: arthavad adhātur apratyayah prātipadikam. kṛt-taddhita-samāsāś ca. i. 2. 45-46, *i.e.* that which conveys sense and is neither root nor suffix (nor a word ending in a suffix) is a prātipadika. Compounds as well as words ending in primary and secondary suffixes are also prātipadikas. Thus words like 'ḍittha,' 'ḍavittha' etc., which are without any suffix, 'kartṛ', 'hartṛ' etc., formed with the primary suffix tṛ, Aupagava, Kāpaṭava etc. formed with the secondary suffix aṇ and compounds like rāja-puruṣa, Brāhmaṇa-kambala etc. are all prātipadakas. It is curious Pāṇini does not regard words ending in feminine suffixes as prātipadikas. The mention of 'n·īp' and 'āp' in the rule "n·yāp-prātipadikāt" iv. 1. 1 and of 'lin·ga' in the rule "prātipadikârtha-lin·ga-parimāṇa-vacana-mātre prathamā" ii. 3. 46 conclusively proves this point.

K. and some of its followers use "lin·ga" for "prātipadika." The word "lin·ga" is used in the sense of 'a characteristic' in the Upaniṣad. Thus it came naturally to mean 'gender' and then, by synecdoche, substance which is the substratum of gender. Mu. follows K., but intent on having monosyllabic technical terms shortens "linga" to "li." J. uses "mṛt" for "prātipadika," evidently taking

the 'm' of 'nāman' and shaping it after the pattern of 'kṛt', 'hṛt' (taddhita suffix) etc. In the Cāndra system "śabda" is used in the sense of "prātipadika." Su. follows Pāṇini and uses the big term, while PR. follows K. and uses "lin·ga." Hc., Sam. and HN. use "nāman" for "prātipadika."

In the earlier systems of grammar the choice appears to have lain between "prātipadika" and "nāman." Pāṇini uses the former, while the Nirukta, Prātiśākhyas, BD. and other works use the latter. A ślokavārttika also says: nāma ca dhātujam āha Nirukte vyākaraṇe Śakaṭasya ca tokam. The Mahābhāṣya, while enumerating the four parts of speech, mentions nāman, ākhyāta, upasarga and nipāta ("namâkhyatopasarga-nipātāś ca"*).

Nāman is defined in the Nirukta as "sattva-pradhāna" (sattva-pradhānāni nāmāni). In RP. we find "tan nāma yenâbhidadhāti sattvam" and "sattvâbhidhāyakaṃ nāma." The same thing is expressed in a different way in a well-known stanza of BD. (i. 42):

शब्देनोच्चारितेनेह येन द्रव्यं प्रतीयते ।
तदक्षरविधौ युक्तं नामेत्याहुर्मनीषिणः ॥

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*This is the reading in every single printed edition of the Mahābhāṣya we have come across. This is also found in the printed edition of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra. VP. reads "namâkhyatopasarganipātāh" without 'ca'. This appears to be the correct reading here also. RP. has nāmâkhyātam upasargo nipātah xii. 17 and CA. nāmâkhyātopasarga-nipātānām i. 1. In the Nirukta we find "namâkhyāte copa-sarganipātāś ca" i. 2 which is also possible here. For the confusion of 'ca' we may compare Pañcatantra (N. S. Press) iv. 22:

सर्वनाशे च सञ्जाते प्राणानामपि संशये ।
अपि शत्रुं प्रणम्यापि रक्षेत् प्राणधनानि च ॥

where the correct reading is undoubtedly प्राणान् धनानि च.

From another stand-point BD. defines "nāman" thus (i. 43):

अष्टौ यत्र प्रयुज्यन्ते नानार्थेषु विभक्तयः ।
तन्नाम कवयः प्राहुर्भेदे वचनलिङ्गयोः ॥

The Mímāṃsā Sūtra defines "nāman" from another stand-point: yeṣām utpattau sve prayoge rūpopalabdhis tāni nāmāni ii. 1. 3. "Those words are nouns, on the utterance whereof in actual usage, the forms of the objects denoted by them become apprehended."

Nāman corresponds to Greek *onoma* and Latin *nomen*.

The word nāma-karana is used in the Nirukta in the sense of a kṛt suffix. avater gatyarthasyâsau nāma-karanah i. 17, kakṣo gāhateh, kṣa iti nāma-karaṇah ii. 2, gaur iti... gāter vaukāro nāma-karaṇah ii. 5, ghaser vero nāma-karaṇa uśíram iti yathā ii. 5, mithunau kasmāt? minotih śrayati-karmā thu iti nāma-karaṇah vii. 29, śeva iti sukhanāma, śiṣyater vakāro nāmakaraṇah, arthântaropalin·gí x. 17. The commentators explain "nāma-karaṇa" as 'pratyaya', but from a consideration of the above passages it is clear that "nāmakaraṇa" means 'kṛt-pratyaya'. The word for a suffix in general in the Nirukta would appear to be "antakaraṇa."

It may be mentoined in passing that "nāma-karaṇa" means sam·jñā in PR.

"Nāma-vibhakti" is used in the sense of case-ending in the Nirukta (vii. 1) and in BD. (namâkhyāta-vibhaktiṣu BD. ii. 94). In the Śābara Bhāṣya (ii. 1. 3) and Vatsyāyana Bhāṣya "nāmikí vibhakti" is used in this sense. Though Pāṇini uses "prātipadika" for "nāman," still his followers use "nāma-dhātu" for denominatives.

It may be mentioned in passing that nāmin is entirely different in meaning, denoting, as it does, the vowels that induce 'nati' or the change of dental *s* into cerebral ṣ (nama-

yanti dantyaṃ santaṃ mūrdhanyam kurvantíti nāminah—Uvaṭa under RP. i. 65).

In some systems "nāman" is used in the sense of saṃjñā. Cf. J. (Mahāvṛtti) i. 1. 71, Śāk. ii. 1. 53 etc. The Kāśikāvivaraṇa-pañjikā says:

ये पुंसां व्यवहाराय सङ्कीर्त्यमानाः शब्दा देवदत्त इत्येवमादयस्तेषामेव संज्ञा वेदितव्या, तेष्वेव नामधेयशब्दो रूढः, न तु ये जाड्यादिनिमित्ता गवादिशब्दा अनादिव्यवहारान्तःपातिनस्तेषु ।

It will thus be seen that the difficulty in regard to "lin·ga" is that it is used in the sense of gender also and in regard to "nāman" is that it is used in the sense of saṃjñā also. So the good old word "prātipadika" with its "learned length and thundering sound" is retained in many later works also.

It is not unlikely that originally there was some difference between "nāman" and "prātipadika". The Gopatha Brāhmaṇa mentions both in the following well-known passage:

ओङ्कारं पृच्छामः को धातुः किं प्रातिपदिकं किं नामाख्यातं किं लिङ्गं किं वचनं का विभक्तिः कः प्रत्ययः कः स्वर उपसर्गो निपातः ।

In Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra also we find the division into nāman, ākhyāta, upasarga and nipāta and yet prātipadikârtha is mentioned in three consecutive stanzas. From "ko dhātuh kim prātipadikam" of the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa, "prātipadikârtha-yuktaṃ dhātvartham utsṛjanti ye svârthaih" of the Nāṭyaśāstra (Chap. XV, ed. Chowkhamba), and "tam prātipadikârthañ ca dhātvarthañ ca pracakṣate" of the Vākyapadíya it would appear that "dhātu" was opposed to "ākhyāta" and "prātipadika" to "nāman". Now it is not mere words (śabda) but inflected words that are divided into

the four classes—nāman, ākhyāta, upasarga and nipāta, so "nāman"* must have meant 'a name with the case-termination,' just as "ākhyāta" must have meant 'a finite verb with the proper ending.' Then "nāman" came to signify a name alone to the exclusion of the ending, even as "ākhyāta" followed the opposite direction and meant in later times the verbal ending itself to the total exclusion of the root.

The word "nāman" is mentioned by Pāṇini along with "ākhyāta" in "...nāmâkhyātāṭ ṭhak" iv. 1. 12, but neither "nāman" nor "ākhyāta" is used by him as a technical term in his Aṣṭādhyāyí.

Of course Pāṇini could have invented a monosyllable for "prātipadika", but inspite of his passion for brevity he uses technical terms of five syllables like 'prātipadika', 'ārdhadhātuka' and 'sārvadhātuka', of six syllables like 'sarvanāmasthāna', of seven syllables like 'karmapravacanía' out of deference to his teachers or the school he was following,or it may be that these technical terms had taken such a firm hold on his mind that he could not bring himself to discard them and consciously or unconsciously he made use of them in his Aṣṭādhyāyí to the great discomfiture of his commentators.

Śāntanavâcārya in his Phiṭ-sūtra uses "phiṣ" for "prātipadika", evidently taking the initial consonant of the common word 'phala' and rounding it off with 'iṣ'.

पा। अर्थवदधातुरप्रत्ययः प्रातिपदिकम्। कृत्तद्धितसमासाश्च १।२।४५-४६

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*Namisādhu says in his commentary on Rudraṭa's Kāvyālaṃkāra ii. 2:

वस्तुवाचि पदं नाम। क्रियाप्रधानं त्रिङन्तमाख्यातम्। नामाख्यातयोः समुच्चयार्थप्रख्यातिनिमित्तं निपाताः। क्रियाविशेषप्रतिपत्तिनिबन्धनमुपसर्गाः।

का। धातुविभक्तिवर्जमर्थवल्लिङ्गम्* २।१।१ (a very clever combination of the two rules of Pāṇini).

जै। अधु मृत। कृद्द्वृत्सा:। (हृत्=तद्धित, स=समास) १।१।५-६

अग्निपु। धातुप्रत्ययहीनं यत् स्यात् प्रातिपदिकं तु तत् ३५१।१९

हे। अधातुविभक्तिवर्जमर्थवन्नाम १।१।२७

मु। क्त्यान्तान्यौ दली १४

सा। अविभक्ति नाम ६।१ but uses लिङ्गार्थे प्रथमा in the Kāraka section.

सु। अधातुविभक्त्यर्थवत् प्रातिपदिकम् २।२।१

प्र। शब्दोऽर्थवाल्लिँङ्गसंज्ञो विभक्तिधातुवर्जितः १।१६८

ह। अधातुविष्णुभक्तिकमर्थवन्नाम (विष्णुभक्ति=विभक्ति) १।१४९

SARVANAMAN

Sarvanāman is a good old term and is found from Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra downwards. Thus Āpastamba says: "sarvanāmnā striyo rājanya-vaiśyau ca na nāmnā" i. 4. 20, 'women as well as Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas are to be saluated by means of the name common to all *i.e.* pronoun (abhivādaye'ham) and not by (means of one's proper) name (Devadatto'ham abhivādaye). The contrast between "sarvanāman" and "nāman" here brings out the original sense of the term "sarvanāman".

The word also occurs in the Nirukta:

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*सामग्रं त्रैलिङ्गमनमर्थवल्लिङ्गसन्निभम्।
धातुविभक्तिवर्जत्वात् पण्डितैः परिगीयते॥
वृत्तित्रयवार्त्तिकम् ६९

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त्व इति विनिग्रहार्थीयं सर्वनामानुदात्तम्। अर्धनामेत्येके। १।७

सममिति परिग्रहार्थीयं सर्वनामानुदात्तम्। ५।२३

अथाध्यात्मिक्य उत्तमपुरुषयोगाः, अहमिति चैतेन सर्वनाम्ना। ७।२

It occurs in APr. also:

कमिति निपातः। त्रिधानुदात्तम्। अव्ययम्। सर्वनाम। सुखनाम च। ९।४३

Here also the contrast between "sarvanāman" and "sukhanāman" arrests attention.

The Mahābhāṣya (i. 1. 27) explains the significance of the name thus:

अन्वर्थग्रहणं तत्र विज्ञायते। सर्वेषां यन्नाम तत् सर्वनाम।... यद्येवं सकलं कृत्स्नं जगदित्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति। एतेषां चापि शब्दानामेकैकस्य स स विषयस्तस्मिंस्तस्मिन् विषये यो यः शब्दो वर्तते।...एवं तर्ह्युभयमनेन क्रियते पाठश्चैव विशेष्यते संज्ञा च।

Whitney explains the full significance of the term very clearly under CA. ii. 4: "The term *sarva-nāman* 'all-name', used to denote a pronoun, is an iugenious and interesting one...*Nāman*, 'name', includes substantives, adjectives and pronouns; but while the two former, being descriptive of quality, are restricted in their application to certain objects or classes of objects, a pronoun may be used of anything indifferently; it is a title of universal applicability."

Under Pāṇini vi. 4. 174. 4 Patañjali says: "ekaśrutih svara-sarvanāma, yathā napuṃsakaṃ lin·ga-sarvanāma" where sarvanāma is used in the sense of 'general'. Similarly we find "sārvanāmya" used in the sense of 'universality' in "prakṛti-sārvanāmyāc ca" in the Nirukta (vii. 4).

It is to be noted that in sarvanāmasthāna, sarvanāma is a Karmadhāraya (sarvaṃ nāma), whereas as a technical name for the pronoun it is a Tatpuruṣa (sarveṣāṃ nāma).

K. uses "sarvanāman" without defining it: sarvanāmnas tu... ii. 1. 43, smai sarvanāmnah ii. 1. 25. The taddhita form "sārvanāmikam" is used in the rule "nânyat sārvanāmikam" ii. 1. 33.

J. takes the first sound *s* of the first element 'sarva' and the first sound *n* of the second element 'nāman' and forms the technical term "sni".

Candra (ii. 1. 6), Śāk. and Hc. use "sarvâdi" for "sarvanāman". This sometimes leads to curious sentences. Thus in the vṛtti on "na sarvâdih" Śāk. i. 2. 170 we find "dvandva-samāse sarvâdih sarvâdir na bhavati" where the first "sarvâdih" means 'words beginning with 'sarva' in the sarvâdi list' and the second means 'sarvanāman'.

Vopadeva follows in the foot-steps of J. but concentrates on the first member of the compound from which he extracts *s* and *r* and like J. adds i, the favourite device for rounding off a name. So the name for a pronoun, acc. to Vopadeva, is "sri". Kramadīśvara does not define "sarvanāman" but uses it. Su. and PR. also use "sarvanāman". As usual HN. substitutes "Kṛṣṇa" for "sarva" acc. to the dictum "Kṛṣṇastu bhagavān svayam" and uses "Kṛṣṇanāman" for "sarvanāman."

पा। सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि १।१।२७

जै। स्त्रिः सर्वादिः १।१।४०। (सर्वादि सर्वनाम—महावृत्ति १।१।३५।)

मु। सर्वविश्वोभोभय···८७

सु। सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि स्वार्थेऽसंज्ञायाम् २।४।१

प्र। अथ सर्वनामशब्दाः।

संज्ञोपसर्जने हित्वा विशेषार्थव्यवस्थया।

सर्वाद्याः सर्वनामानि चत्वारिंशत् समीरिताः॥ २।२१८

ह। सर्वादीनि कृष्णनामानि ३।११०

Some modern writers use "pratināma" which is not found in Sanskrit but which appears to have been coined as an equivalent to 'pronoun' after the analogy of 'pratiśabda', 'prativākya', etc. Śāntanavâcārya, the author of the Phiṭ-sūtra, uses "siṭ" for "sarvanāman," taking the first letter *s* and adding *iṭ* to round it off. Similarly some writers use "sâdi" for "sarvanāman".

Sanskrit *sarvanāman* is more acceptable than Greek *antonumia* or Latin *pronomen* meaning 'a word used for or instead of a noun'—a definition which leaves much to be desired. As Jespersen says in *The Philosophy of Grammar*: "This does not suit all cases, and the definition breaks down in the very first pronoun; it is very unnatural to the unsophisticated mind to say that "I see you" stands instead of "Otto Jespersen sees Mary Brown," on the contrary most people will say that in *Bellum Gallicum* the writer uses the word *Caesar* instead of "I". We may also say "I, Otto Jespersen, hereby declare...", which would be preposterous if "I" were simply a substitute for the name. And grammatically it is very important that "I" is the first person, and the name is in the third, as shown in many languages by the form of the verb. Further: no one doubts that *nobody* and the interrogative *who* are pronouns, but it is not easy to see what nouns they can be said to be substitutes for."

AKHYATA.

"Ā-khyā-ta" literally means 'that which has been described fully', then it came to mean 'that which describes fully* *i.e.*, the finite verb'. The root with the upasarga is

*"The power of expressing Time by those variations which we call Tense (after an old form of the French word

preserved in *ākkhṇā* 'to say' in Panjabi where we can expect a continuity in language from the earliest period and which, in fact, preserves many ancient forms not found in other Indian vernaculars. In the Nirukta (i. 1) and BD. (ii. 121) Ākhyāta is defined as "bhāva-pradhānam" *i.e.*, 'having becoming or action as its fundamental meaning'. RP. xii. 19 says: (tan nāma yenâbhidadhāti sattvam) tadākhyātaṃ yena bhāvaṃ sadhātu *i.e.* that is a verb by means of which one denotes a becoming or an action and which contains a root. Some commentators apparently read 'sa dhātuh' for 'sadhātu' and identify Ākhyāta with Dhātu. Kauṭilya defines Ākhyāta thus: aviśiṣṭalin·gam ākhyātaṃ kriyāvāci (Arthaśāstra, ii. 10. 28) *i.e.* the Ākhyāta shows no distinction of gender and denotes action. In the printed Nāṭyaśāstra the definition of ākhyāta would appear to be as follows: sampratyatíta-kālaprayojitah kriyādi-sam·yogah prathitah xv. 24 which reminds one of Yāska's "pūrvāparí-bhūtaṃ bhāvam ākhyatenācaṣṭe" *i.e.* a becoming or action arising from a former to a later state is denoted by the verb. In the Mímāṃ-

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for time), has attracted notice as the most salient feature about the verb. Aristotle defined a verb as a word that included the expression of Time. The established German word for a verb is Zeit-wort, that is to say, Time-word. Others have thought that the power of expressing Action is the real and true characteristic of the verb. Ewald, in his Hebrew Grammar, calls the verb accordingly That-wort, that is to say, Deed-word. But in these expressions the essential is obscured by that which is more conspicuous. The Danish scholar Madvig, in his Latin Grammar, seems to put it in the right light. He designates the verb as Udsagnsord, that is Outsayings-word; because it 'udsiger om en Person eller Ting en Tilstand eller en Virksomhed,' outsays, pronounces, asserts, delivers, about a person or thing a condition or an action. *It is the instrument by which the mind expresses its judgments, or* (in modern parlance) *makes its deliverances.*" EARLE, *The Philology of the English Tongue.*

sā Sūtra, Ākhyāta is defined thus: yeṣām tūtpattāv arthe sve prayogo na vidyate tānyākhātāni ii. 1. 4. "Those words, on the other hand, are verbs, on the utterance whereof what is denoted by them is not in existence." This reminds one of Bhartṛhari's Kārikā:

यावत् सिद्धमसिद्धं वा साध्यत्वेनाभिधीयते ।
आश्रितक्रमरूपत्वात् क्रियेति व्यपदिश्यते ॥

Under sa-viśeṣaṇam ākhyātaṃ vākyam i. 1. 21 Hc. says "tyādyantam padam ākhyātam" which is explained thus in the Laghunyāsa: ākhyāyate nena kriyā-pradhānatvena sādhyârthābhidhāyitayā vetyākhyātam, tac ca tyādyantam iti.

The word is not used by Pāṇini as a technical term in the Aṣṭādhyāyí, though it occurs in Pāṇini's rule: dvyaj-ṛd-brāhmana-rk-prathamâdhvara-puraścaraṇa-nāmâkhyātāṭ ṭhak and in the Gaṇasūtra "ākhyātam ākhyātena kriyā-sātatye".

Yāska uses "ākhyāta" in the sense of 'finite verb,' but his predecessors appear to have used the word either exclusively in the sense of 'root' or both in the sense of 'roots' and 'finite verbs'. Thus in "tatra nāmāny ākhyāta-jāníti Śākaṭāyano nairukta-samayaś ca" i. 12 where Yāska appears to be quoting from Śākaṭāyana, Ākhyāta is used in the sense of roots. It is interesting to note that in later times 'dhātu' was substituted for 'ākhyāta' here and we find in the Mahābhāṣya: nāma ca dhātujam āha Nirukte vyākaraṇe Śakaṭasya ca tokam (iii. 1. 1). In sarvāṇyākhyātajāni nāmāni etc., Yāska merely follows Śākaṭāyana. Again in "tṛibhya ākhyātebhyo jāyata iti Śākapūṇih" vii. 14 where the view of Śākapūṇi *viz.*, Agni is derived from three roots, is quoted, Ākhyāta seems to have been used in the sense of roots. In all other places *viz.* catvāri padajātāni nāmākhyâte copa-

sarga-nipātāś ca i. 1, pūrvāparibhūtam bhāvam ākhyātenācaṣṭe i. 1, udāttaṃ tvevam ākhyātam abhaviṣyat vi. 28, atha parokśa-kṛtah sarvābhir nāma-vibhaktibhir yujyante prathama-puruṣaiś cākhyātasya vii. 1, "ākhyāta" appears to be used in the sense of 'finite verb.'

Since in ancient times roots were denoted by means of śtip "ākhyāta" may very well mean 'root' also.

In the Kātantra the third chapter is known as Ākhyāta, but the word itself does not appear to have been used by Sarvavarman. Commentators generally explain the word thus: ākhyāyante mukhyatayā pratipādyante yāni tāni ākhyātāni tyādíni.* According to this view "ākhyāta" means the verbal endings. In the sense of the finite verb, "ākhyāta" is explained thus: ā samyak prādhānyena nirākān·kṣatvena sādhyatvena vā khyātāh pratipāditāh pacanādirūpāh kriyāh kāla-kartṛtvâdi-rūpo'rthaś ca anena ityākhyātam pacatyādirūpam.

Similarly the chapter on conjugation in HN. is known as the ākhyāta-section, and the word "ākhyāta" occurs several times in the rules though it is not defined anywhere.

PR. uses "ākhyāta" in the sense of 'verbal ending' as is clear from its rule: vibhakti-taddhitâkhyāta-kṛtas ca pratyayā matāh i. 172, *i.e.*, the case-endings, the secondary suffixes, the verbal endings and the primary suffixes are known as pratyayas.

In the Kādambarí (para 85) both "ākhyāta" and "kriyā" are mentioned in the same compound: व्याकरणमिव प्रथम-मध्यमोत्तमपुरुष-विभक्तिस्थितानेकादेशकारकाख्यात-सम्प्रदानक्रियाव्यय-प्रपञ्चसुस्थितम्।

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* आख्यायन्ते कथ्यन्ते अर्थात् निष्पाद्यन्ते भ्वादीनां रूपाणि येन तदाख्यातम्। अथव आख्यान्ति आचक्षते कर्तुर्व्यापारमित्याख्याताः। चन्द्रकीर्त्तिः।

DHATU.

Dhātu (from dhā 'to lay, put') originally meant 'lay-er, constituent part', then it meant 'element, primitive matter (the five Mahābhūtas—kṣiti, ap, tejas, marut, vyoman or the constituent elements of the body—vāyu, pitta and kapha, or rasa, asṛk, māṃsa, medas, asthi, majjan and śukra, or the five jñānendriyas or the five tanmātras *viz.* gandha, rasa, rūpa, sparśa, śabda)'. In grammar it means 'elements or essential ingredients' of words and is first found in the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa. In the Nirukta it is correctly derived from the root dhā: etāvantah samāna-karmāṇo dhātavah. dhātur dadhāteh, i. 20. It is found several times in BD. (ii. 101—104):

लिङ्गं धातुं विभक्तिं च सन्नमेत् तत्र तत्र च ।
यद् यत् स्याच्छान्दसं मन्त्रे तत्तत् कुर्यात्तु लौकिकम् ॥
यावतामेव धातूनां लिङ्गं रूढिगतं भवेत् ।
अर्थश्चाप्यभिधेयः स्यात्तावद्भिर्गुणविग्रहः ॥
धातूपसर्गावयवगुणशब्दं द्विधातुजम् ।
बह्वेकधातुजं वापि पदं निर्वाच्यलक्षणम् ॥
धातुजं धातुजाज्जातं समस्तार्थजमेव वा ।
वाक्यजं व्यतिकीर्णं च निर्वाच्यं पञ्चधा पदम् ॥

"Gender, root and inflexion, one should, in their respective places, adapt (to the sense). Whatever is Vedic in a formula one should turn into everyday speech (*laukika*). The analysis of the secondary elements (*guṇa*) may be (effected) by the aid of all roots (*dhātu*) which possess a traditional characteristic form (*lin·ga*), and the sense of which can be stated. A word (*pada*), the definition of which can be expressed, whether it be derived from two roots, many

(roots), or one root, is one consisting of a sound (*śabda*) that contains root, preposition, members (*avayava*), and secondary elements (*guṇa*). A word may be explained in five ways (*viz.*) as derived from a root, as derived from the derivative of a root, as derived from a compound meaning (*samastārtha*), as derived from a sentence (*vākya*), and as (of) confused (derivation)''.

The term ''dhātu'' is used by Pāṇini and retained in most systems of grammar. J. takes the 'dh' of the first syllable and 'u' of the second and combines them into 'dhu'. Mu., as usual, follows J.

It may be mentioned in this connexion that roots are generally represented by their past participial forms in AB. Thus a formula containing ''āpyāyasva'' is described here as ''āpína-vat'', another containing ''arūrucat'' as ''rucita-vat'' and so on. No doubt in several cases roots are denoted by verbal nouns etc., but this is the more usual way. (Liebich, pp. 15-17). This, as Liebich points out, gave rise to the suffix 'ktavatu' in later Sanskrit.

Pāṇini does not define ''dhātu'' but merely names two important roots—one of the first conjugation and one of the second, and says that roots are of the nature of these. His rule is ''bhū-vādayo dhātavah'' i. 3. 1. A śloka-vārttika explains that the v in the rule is for auspiciousness*: bhūvādínāṃ vakāro'yam man·galârthah prayujyate iii. 1. 5. The second half is found in the Kāśikā: bhuvo vârthaṃ vadantíti bhvarthā vā vādayah smṛtāh, *i.e.*, bhūvādi is to be

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* भूवादीनां वकारोऽयं लक्षणार्थः प्रयुज्यते ।
व्यवधानमिको यणभिर्वायुवम्बरयोरिव ॥
भूवो वार्थं वदन्तीति वादेरौणादिके इञि ।
भूवादय इति ज्ञेया भुवोऽर्था वादयोऽथवा ॥
J. i. 2. 1 foot-note.

derived with the auṇādika agent suffix thus: bhuvo'rtham vadanti iti.

It is just possible that in some ancient Dhātupāṭha vā stood at the head of adādi roots and so some predecessor of Pāṇini framed the rule "bhūvādayo dhātavah" which was taken over by Pāṇini.

Kātyāyana says: kriyā-vacano dhātuh i. 3. 1 which is sufficiently clear. K. says: kriyā-bhāvo dhātuh ii. 1. 9, which commentators explain thus: yah śabdah kriyām bhāvayati pratipādayati sa dhatu-saṃjño bhavati. Thus it becomes identical with Kātyāyana's definition. It is just possible, however, that we have here nouns from the two very general roots—'to do' and 'to be'. In the words of Sanskrit grammarians: parispandana-sādhana-sādhya gamanādi and a-parispandana-sādhana-sādhya avasthānâdi (Rāma Tarkavāgīśa's commentary on Mu. 11), and that the author intended us to understand 'that which denotes action and that which denotes existence are roots'.

In the Uṇādisūtra "mithune' pi pūrvavac ca sarvam" v. 222 'mithuna' is explained by Ujjvaladatta thus: yatropasargo dhātu-kriyayā yuktas tan mithunam.

पा। भूवादयो धातवः। १।३।१

भाष्यम्। क्रियावचनो धातुः। १।३।१

का। क्रियाभावो धातुः। ३।१।९

जै। भूवादयो धुः। १।२।१

शा। क्रियार्थो धातुः। १।१।२२

हे। क्रियार्थो धातुः। ३।३।३

सा। भ्वादिदशगणा णिङ्सनाद्यन्ताश्च धातवः। २।२

मु। भ्वादि धुः। ११ (लिधुः=नामधातुः।)

सु। भुवादि-सनाद्यन्ता धातवः। ३।१।४९

प्र। एधादयो धातवः स्युः। १।१७०

ह। भूसनन्ताद्या धातवः। १।३६३

The Taddhita suffix "dhā" is probably a broken down part of "dhātu." In RV. 'tri-dhātu' means containing three elements *i.e.* three-fold.

"Dhātu" in its technical sense is used by Kālidāsa in his Raghuvaṃśa:

रामादेशादनुगता सेना तस्यार्थसिद्धये।
पश्चादध्ययनार्थस्य धातोरधिरिवाभवत्॥

'The army which followed him at the command of Rama served to fulfil his mission, even as the preposition 'adhi' prefixed to the root (*i*) meaning 'to study' serves to bring out its sense' (xv. 9).

स हत्वा वालिनं वीरस्तत्पदे चिरकाङ्क्षिते।
धातोः स्थान इवादेशं सुग्रीवं सन्न्यवेशयत्॥

'The hero slew Vālin and set Sugríva in what he had long coveted, viz., his brother's place, like one root substituted in place of another' (xii. 58).

ABHYASA AND ABHYASTA

"Abhyāsa" is formed exactly like samāsa from the root 'as' preceded by 'abhi' meaning 'to throw towards, repeat' and means 'repetition' in Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra: abhyāsânupapattau jyotiṣṭomah pūraṇah xxiv. 7. 18 and the Nirukta: abhyāse bhūyāṃsam artham manyante, yathâho darśanîyâho darśanîyêti x. 42. In Pāṇini also it is used in this sense in "mithyopapadāt kṛño'bhyāse" i. 3. 71 where Jayāditya explains: abhyāsah punah punah karaṇam, āvṛttih. From this it easily passes on to its technical sense of 'reduplication' which is first found in the Nirukta: kakṣo gāhateh,

kṣa iti nāma-karaṇah, khyāter vânarthako 'bhyāsah' ii. 2, cakadrāti kadrātíti sato 'narthako' bhyāsah ii. 3, ādinâbhyāsenopadhām ādatte. babhastir atti-karmā iv. 12.

"Abhyasta" in the sense of 'reduplicated' is also found for the first time in the Nirukta: rarāṇo rātir abhyastah ii. 12, erire itírtir upasṛṣṭo 'bhyastah iv. 23, rarivān rātir abhyastah iv. 25, sararūkaṃ vā syāt sarter abhyastāt vi. 3. In the sense of 'repeated' it occurs in "ayutaṃ niyutaṃ prayutaṃ tattad abhyastam" iii. 10.

In Pāṇini the term "abhyāsa" is restricted to the reduplicated portion of the root (pūrvo'bhyāsah vi. 1. 4) and "abhyasta" to the root along with the reduplicated portion (ubhe abhyastam vi. 1. 5.). K. uses the term in exactly similar senses (iii. 3. 4-5).

For "abhyāsa", Devanandin uses 'ca' (iv. 3. 11) and for "abhyasta" 'tha' (iv. 3. 9). 'Ca' means 'addition, repetition' and is a good substitute for "abhyāsa", 'tha' probably represents the final syllable of 'abhyasta' in its Prakrit form (cf. thara for stara).

Taking the hint from Pāṇini's rule "pūrvo'bhyāsah" vi. 1. 4, Śāk. uses 'pūrva' for 'abhyāsa' and thus saves one syllable. (Cf. pūrvasyâsve'cíyuvyoh" iv. 1. 76 corresponding to Pāṇini's "abhyāsasyāsavarṇe" vi. 4. 78). For "abhyasta" he uses "aj-jhi" which is explained thus in the Vṛtti on i. 2. 14: ad bhavati jhir yasmāt (acc. to i. 4. 89). Thus, for Pāṇini's "sij-abhyasta-vidibhyaś ca" iii. 4. 109, Śāk. has 'sivid-ajjher abhvah' i. 4. 107 and for Pāṇini's "śnābhastayor ātah" vi. 4. 112 he has "śnāj-jher ātah" iv. 2. 47. Śāk. also uses 'dvyukti' for 'abhyasta'. Cf. i. 4. 89.

Candra uses "dvir-ukta" for "abhyasta". Thus for Pāṇini's "ad abhyastāt" vii. 1. 4, Candra has "dvir uktād at" i. 4. 4. For "abhyāsa" he uses "dvitve pūrva". Cf.

"dvitve pūrvasyâsame" v. 3. 84 corresponding to Pāṇini's "abhyāsasyâsavarṇe" vi. 4. 78.

Vopadeva uses "khi" for "abhyāsa". Thus the rule corresponding to Pāṇini's "abhyāsasyâsavarṇe" vi. 4. 78 is "kher yor iyuv arṇe" in Mu. 'Khi' is evidently the 'kh' of 'khaṇḍa' with a euphonic 'i'.

Hc. follows Śāk. and uses "pūrva" for "abhyāsa", e.g., "an-e-hihano ho ghah pūrvāt" iv. 1. 34, "pūrvasyâsve svare yvor iyuv" iv. 1. 37. For "abhyasta" he uses "dvyukta", *e.g.* "dvyuktopāntyasya śiti svare" iv. 3. 14.

Su., Sam., and PR. use "abhyāsa" and "abhyasta".

HN. uses "nara" for "abhyāsa" and "Nārāyaṇa" for "abhyasta", probably because "Nārāyaṇa" contains a larger number of syllables including 'na' which is also the first syllable.

In the Uṇādi-sūtras "abhyāsa" is used in the sense in which it is used by Pāṇini; e.g. pṛ-vṛñām dveruk câbhyāsasya iv. 55.

From PR. we learn that "prān-" was another name for "abhyāsa".

पा। पूर्वोऽभ्यासः। उभे अभ्यस्तम्। ६।१।४-५

का। पर्वोऽभ्यासः। द्वयम् अभ्यस्तम्। ३।३।४-५

जै। पूर्वश्चः। ४।३।११, थः ४।३।९ (ते द्वे समुदिते थ-संज्ञे स्तः—वृत्तिः।)

मु। द्वः पूर्वः खिः। ५३९ (द्विरुक्त-जक्षादी द्विः १७५)।

प्र। तत् पूर्वं प्राङभ्यासश्च कथ्यते। १३।४०६। अभ्यस्ताः शास्चकास्य(ज)क्षि दरिद्राजाग्रनेकिताः। ८।१०९। (अनेकिताः कृतद्विर्वचना धातवः। वृत्तिः। अनेकं करोतीत्यर्थे इन्क्तप्रत्यये अनेकिताः। प्रभाप्रकाशिका।)

ह। पूर्वो नरः। परो नारायणः। १।४३५-६। पूर्वमभ्यासः परमभ्यस्तमिति प्राञ्चः। वृत्तिः।

PRATYAYA.

"Pratyaya" is derived from *prati-i* 'to go towards or against' and means 'that which follows' and is used in the Prātiśākhyas and their commentaries in the sense of 'subsequent word or sound' ("sparśe coṣah pratyaye pūrva-padyah" RP. i. 80) 'uṣah' forming the first member of a compound is designated 'riphita' when a mute follows; "Medhātithau Varuṇânta-vratântau sparśântasthāpratyayau nirhrasete" RP. 90—in the Medhātithi-hymns compounds ending in 'Varuṇa' and 'vrata' are shortened, when a mute or semi-vowel follows; "sparśah sve pratyaye pūrvânta-sasvaro bhavati"—commentary on RT. 25). In VP. the word is used both in the sense of 'following' and in the sense of 'a suffix'. Thus in "pratyaya-savarṇaṃ mudi Śākaṭāyanah" iii. 9—Sākaṭāyana prescribes the change of a visarjanīya into the homogeneous letter of the following sound when a sibilant follows, "pratyasavarṇa" is used in the sense of 'parasavarṇa'. In "hrasva-vyañjanābhyāṃ vakārâdau vibhakti-pratyaye" v. 13, however, "vibhakti-pratyaye" means 'a suffix which is a case-ending'. In CA. "pratyaya" is used in the sense of a suffix. Cf. nāmika-rephāt pratyaya-sakārasya ii. 86, vyavadhāv apratyaye iii. 3. But in the commentary it is used in the sense of subsequent also:

पूर्वरूपस्य मात्रार्धं समानकरणं परम् ।
प्रत्ययेन भवेत् कार्यमेतत् संयुक्तमिष्यते ॥ १।५०

In TP. "pratyaya" is used in the sense of augment in: "akurva iti ca pratyayāt parah" v. 7. In Pāṇini we find the word used in the specialized sense of a suffix exactly as "aprkta" is used in reference to a suffix. In the Śrauta sūtras and Nirukta the word is used in the sense of concep-

tion, assumption, notion, idea. "Artha-pratyaya" occurs in the Nirukta (i. 15) in the sense of 'certainty of meaning.'

In the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa i. 1. 26 quoted under KRT, "pratyaya" appears to be used in the sense of 'case-ending'.

From the Prātiśākhyas it would appear that "pratyaya" at one time included suffixes, prefixes, infixes and augments. "Pratyaya" is used in this sense only once by Pāṇini in "aṇudit savarṇasya câpratyayah" i. 1. 69. Hence the objector urges in the Mbh.: atyalpam idam ucyate—apratyaya iti. apratyayâdeśa-ṭit-kin-mita iti vaktavyam.

The etymological sense is thus shown in Mbh. iii. 1. 2. 8: yas tam artham sampratyāyayati sa pratyayah.

"Anta-karaṇa" and "upabandha" would appear to be the earlier names for a "pratyaya". Both are met with in the Nirukta.

While explaining "kim punar dvigu-saṃjñā pratyayottarapadayor bhavati" under "taddhitârthottarapada-samāhāre ca" ii. 1. 50, Kaiyaṭa says: "Kāśakṛtsnasya 'pratyayottarapadayoh' iti sūtram". From this it is clear that Kāśakṛtsna also used "pratyaya" in the sense of a suffix. But this does not prove anything, as in all probablity Kāśakṛtsna was posterior to Pāṇini and not anterior to him.

All the different systems of Sanskrit grammar use "pratyaya" for a suffix, with the exception of J. and Mu. J. uses the second syllable "tya" for "pratyaya" and Mu. follows J.

K., Sam. and Su. use "pratyaya" without defining it.

That to which the suffix is added is known as the "Prakṛti". "Prakṛti" has the sense of 'original form' in the Nirukta, Prātiśākhyas and Pāṇini: Sam. uses 'Prakṛti' in this sense in "prakṛtivad dvir guṇādiś ca" ii. 566 etc. In ii. 289 mūla-prakṛti is used. Goyīcandra explains it

thus: Prakṛti-padena yasmāt pratyayotpattis tasyaiva grahaṇe siddhe mūla-prakṛtíti kṛtam—yasmād dhātoh śabdah vyutpāditas tad-grahanârtham; dhātur eva hi śabdasya mūla-prakṛtih, dhātu-jatvāt sarvaśabdānām.

It would appear that the words "Prakṛti" and "Mūla-prakṛti" as used in grammar are borrowed from the Sāṃkhya philosophy.

Two of the greatest poets of India have made use of these two technical terms in their poems. Kālidasa says in his Raghuvaṃśa:

ता नराधिपसुता नृपात्मजैस्ते च ताभिरगमन् कृतार्थताम् ।
सोऽभवद् वरवधूसमागमः प्रत्ययप्रकृतियोगसन्निभः ॥

"The princesses attained the object of their being on being united with the princes, as did the princes by being joined together with the princesses. The union of the bride and the bride-groom was like the combination of the base with the affix" (xi. 56).

Bhāravi has the following stanza in his Kirātārjuníya:

स भवस्य भवक्षयैकहेतोः सितसप्तेश्च विधास्यतोः सहार्थम् ।
रिपुराप पराभवाय मध्यं प्रकृतिप्रत्यययोरिवानुबन्धः ॥

'The enemy came for his own overthrow between Śiva, the sole cause of the end of creation, and Arjuna of the white steeds, both about to accomplish their object simultaneously, even as the indicatory letter comes for elision between the base and the suffix which together express the meaning' (xiii. 19).

It may be mentioned in passing that though Bhāravi is indebted to Kālidāsa for the simile, his borrowed light is dim and obscure before the effulgence of the original. In Kālidāsa's simile the masc. 'pratyaya' and the fem. 'prakṛti' are the upamānas for the bride-groom and the bride respectively.

In Bhāravi's simile the upamāna 'prakṛti' is fem., but the upameya 'bhava' is masc., and since the sense of the 'prakṛti' is subordinate to that of the 'pratyaya' Śiva becomes inferior to Arjuna. Moreover, in most cases the anubandha comes at the end of the suffix and not between the base and the suffix.

Bhaṭṭoji quotes the following stanza in his Praudha-manoramā under "kim-idaṃbhyāṃ vo ghah" 1841:

उदितवति परस्मिन् प्रत्यये शास्त्रयोनौ
गतवति विलयं च प्राकृतेऽपि प्रपञ्चे ।
सपदि पदमुदीतं केवलः प्रत्ययो यत्
तदियदिति मिमीते को हृदा पण्डितोऽपि ॥

'When the supreme knowledge which has its spring in scripture arose and the visible world created by Māyā or Illusion melted away, lo! there arose an entity which is pure knowledge. Who, however learned he may be, can now measure its extent?'

'When the suffix (gha) which comes after the base and which is prescribed in grammar was added (to idam), and when everything belonging to the base was elided, lo! there sprang into existence a word which is solely a suffix. That word is 'iyat'. Who, however learned he may be, can thoroughly understand and explain this?'

The suffix -vat is added to 'idam' and the va of vat is changed into gha (*i.e.* iya) acc. to "kim-idaṃbhyāṃ vo ghah" v. 2. 40, so that we get idam iya t. At this stage idam is changed into i acc. to idama iś v. 3. 3 so that we get i iyat. The i is now elided acc. to "yasyeti ca" vi. 4. 148 so that the whole base is elided and only the suffix remains. This is acc. to the prakriyā of Pāṇini. The commonsense view is that the stem here is i and the suffix yat. Followers

of Pāṇini, however, are inclined to regard kiyat, adhunā etc., as mere pratyayas, just as in English we have 'bus' which is an abbreviation of *omnibus*, the dative plural of Latin *omnis* and which corresponds to the Sanskrit case-ending -bhyas. Similarly in the Gathic Avesta we have 'tā' (Yas. xlvii. 3) for Sanskrit 'pitā', in the Y. Avesta we find tuiryo (Vis. xii. 15) for Skt. pitṛvya.

Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha has a similar stanza in the Rasagan·gādhara:

गुणवृद्धी परे यस्मिन्नैव स्तः प्रत्ययात्मके ।
बुधेषु सदिति ख्यातं तद् ब्रह्म समुपास्महे ॥

'We worship that Brahman in whom, the Supreme Being consisting of pure thought, there is neither any attribute nor any growth or development, who is known among the wise as the existent or eternal one.'

There is a subhāṣita:

हरिहरयोरिह भेदं कलयति लोको विना शास्त्रम् ।
अनयोः प्रकृतिरभिन्ना प्रत्ययभेदाद् विभिन्नवद् भाति ॥

'People here regard Hari and Hara as different, though there is nothing in the Śāstras to warrant this. Their nature root is the same but appears different owing to difference in knowledge suffix'.

Pratyayas, as a rule, come after the base to which they are added. Hence Pāṇini frames the adhikāra-rule "paraś ca" immediately after the rule "pratyayah" iii. 1. 1. Hence Bāṇabhaṭṭa uses the parisaṃkhyā "pratyayānām paratvam" in his Kādambarī (para 47). The only exception is the suffix 'bahuc'. Pāṇini says: "vibhāṣā supo bahuc purastāt tu" v. 3. 68, but Candra (iv. 3. 54 Vṛtti) and his followers refuse to regard 'bahuc' as a suffix. 'Bahu' can easily have the secondary sense of 'to a large extent' (cf. Germ. *fast* and

Fr. *assez*) and both the position of 'bahu' and the accent along with the gender of the word show that it is a compound of 'bahu' and a following word. In the Madhyama Vyāyoga attributed to Bhāsa we find "rūpaṃ sattvaṃ balaṃ caiva pitṛbhih sadṛśam bahu" (39) where 'bahu' is used separately, as also "janayati ca mano-jvaraṃ svaro'yam bahu-sadṛśo hi dhanañjaya-svarasya" (25) where 'bahu' has been compounded with 'sadṛśa'. Goyīcandra in his commentary on Sam. Taddhita Pariśiṣṭa 1149 tries to controvert this view, but he is not convincing. See Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik, II. 1. 236.

पा। प्रत्ययः। परश्च। आद्युदात्तश्च। ३।१।१-३

महाभाष्यम्। प्रत्याययतीति प्रत्ययः।

यदि प्रत्याययतीति प्रत्ययः, अविकादीनां प्रत्ययसंज्ञा न प्राप्नोति। न हि ते किञ्चित् प्रत्याययन्ति।

एवं तर्हि प्रत्याय्यत इति प्रत्ययः।

एवमपि सन्नादीनां न प्राप्नोति।

एवं तर्ह्युभयसाधनोऽयम्, कर्तृसाधनः कर्मसाधनश्च।

एवं तर्हि कुत एतत् समानेऽपूर्वोपदेशे त्रापुषं जातुषमित्यत्राकारस्तमर्थं प्रत्याययति, न पुनः षकार इति।

अन्यत्राप्यकारेण तस्यार्थस्य प्रत्यायनान्मन्यामहे—अकारस्तमर्थं प्रत्याययति, न पुनः षकार इति।

क्वान्यत्र ?

"बिल्वादिभ्योऽण्" (४।३।१३६)। बैल्वः॥ ३।१।१

शब्दकौस्तुभम्। प्रतियन्त्यनेनार्थमिति हि प्रत्ययः। विकारागमौ त्वनर्थकौ। न चैवम् "अवेः कः" (५।४।२८) इत्यादीनां समासान्तानां च प्रत्ययसंज्ञा न स्यात्, अनर्थकत्वाद् इति वाच्यम्। स्वार्थिका अपि प्रत्ययार्थेनार्थवन्तः। ३।१।१

जै। त्यः। परः। २।१।१-२

शा। प्रत्ययः कृतोऽषष्ठ्याः। (इजाद्यायात्तद्धितः। ध्याद्यतिङ्कृत्।) परः। १।१।४१-४४

हे। अनन्तः पञ्चम्याः प्रत्ययः। १।१।३८

मु। परस्त्यः। १८

सु। सुबाद्याः प्रत्ययाः परे २।२।२

सुर्-सनादि-लडादि-विकरण-कृत्-तद्धिताः प्रत्ययसंज्ञकाः प्रकृतेः परे भवन्तीति परिभाषिताः। कथं बृहुतृणम्? सुपो बहुर्वा पूर्वे तु [५।४।२०३] इति विशेषवचनात्।

प्र। विभक्ति-तद्धिताख्यात-कृतश्च प्रत्यया मताः। २।१७२

ह। प्रकृतिः पूर्वा। प्रत्ययः परः। १।१५०-१

निरुक्तटीकाकारो दुर्गः। धातोराख्यात-पदभावेन यः प्रयोगः सा प्रकृतिः। नामीभूतस्य तस्यैव यः प्रयोगः सा विकृतिः। (अथापि प्रकृतय एवैकेषु भाष्यन्ते विकृतय एकेषु २।२।१ इत्यत्र।)

न्यासः। प्रत्ययात् प्रथमं क्रियत इति प्रकृतिः। १।१।१

कातन्त्रवृत्तिः। प्रत्ययात् प्रथमे क्रियत इति प्रकृतिः। ३।२।१

कातन्त्रीय-दुर्गटीका। प्रक्रियतेऽस्यामिति वा प्रकृतिः।

हेमचन्द्रबृहद्वृत्तिः। यस्माद् यः प्रत्ययो विधीयते स तस्य प्रकृतिः। ७।४।११५

सुपद्मविवरणपञ्जिका। प्रत्ययात् पूर्वं क्रियते इति प्रकृतिः। प्रत्ययमवधिं कृत्वा यत् पूर्वमुपादीयते सा प्रकृतिरिति प्रसिद्धमेवैतत्। उपोद्घातः।

APRKTA.

The word "Aprkta" is hardly found outside grammatical literature. But 'prkta' is a good old word occurring from RV. downwards and means 'mixed or mingled with, brought into contact with', from *prc* 'to mix, unite, join.' Hence

"apṛkta" means 'not united, uncombined.' In the Prātiśākhyas it is used in the sense of 'a word consisting of a single letter.' Pāṇini restricted it to *suffixes* consisting of a single letter. Later grammarians thought it better to use "ekāl" for "apṛkta" which, besides having a larger number of syllables, had become practically obsolete.

RP. does not define "apṛkta" but uses it several times: ukāraś ceti-karaṇena yukto rakto'pṛkto drāghitah Śākalena i. 75, apṛktam ekākṣaram xi. 3. The word is used exactly in the same way in CA: ukārasyetāv apṛktasya i. 72, nipāto'pṛkto'nākārah i. 79, tríni padāny apṛkta-madhyāni iv. 113.

VP. defines "apṛkta" thus: eka-varṇah padam apṛktam i. 151.

TP. has eka-varṇah padam. so'prkta-saṃjñah* i. 54-55.

Pāṇini defines "apṛkta" thus: apṛkta ekāl-pratyayah i. 2. 41, '*a suffix* consisting of a single letter is Apṛkta' and uses the word generally in the sense of a single consonant: ver apṛktasya vi. 1. 67, hal-n·yābbhyo dírghāt su-ti-syapṛktaṃ hal vi. 1. 68, guṇo'pṛkte vii. 3. 91, asti-sico'pṛkte vii. 3. 96.

It is difficult to determine if the rule defining "apṛkta" was composed by Pāṇini himself or borrowed by him from his predecessors. In the case of "vṛddhir ādaic" i. 1. 1 Patañjali apologises for Pāṇini: idam ekam ācāryasya man·galārthaṃ mṛṣyatām. He does not, however, raise the question of Vidheyāvimarṣa in the case of "apṛkta ekāl-pratyayah" i. 2. 141 as in the case of "vṛddhir ādaic" i. 1. 1.

In his *Structure of the Aṣṭādhyāyí* Pawate draws atten-

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*Whitney reads: eka-varṇah padam apṛktah.

tion to the fact that in "apṛkta ekāl-pratyayah" i. 2 41 "apṛkta" is masculine, whereas in "hal-n·yābbhyo dírghāt su-ti-syapṛktaṃ hal" vi. 1. 68, the word is neuter. But there is nothing peculiar in this. In the latter rule "apṛkta" is an adjective to 'hal' and as the pratyāhāras are both masculine and neuter* in the Aṣṭādhyāyí it is neuter. In "apṛktam ekākṣaram advi-yoni" RP. xi. 3 "apṛkta" is neuter because 'akṣaram' is neuter, in "eka-varṇah padam apṛktam" VP. i. 151, "apṛkta" is neuter, because 'padam' is neuter. In "ukāro'pṛktah" VP. i. 95 "apṛkta" is masculine because 'ukārah' is masculine. In "apṛktah sau" VP. iii. 110 "apṛkta" is used as a substantive and therefore masculine.

KṚT.

The name for the primary suffix is 'kṛt' in almost every system of grammar. It is formed from the root 'kṛ' with the agent suffix 'kvip' and being itself an instance of a word formed with a primary suffix became a generic name for the suffix. In exactly the same way 'kṛtya' stands for the gerundive suffixes. In AB. 'kurvat' 'kariṣyat' and 'kṛtam' represent the present, future and past tenses respectively. The generic word "kāraka" as also the names of most of the individual kārakas are also derived from the root 'kṛ'. Similarly "ṇic" is known as "kārita", "san" as "cikírṣita", "yan·" as "cekríyita" and "yan·luk" as "carkaríta".

In the technical sense "kṛt" occurs for the first time in

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*Under "halantyam" i. 3. 3 the Bālamanoramā remarks: hal-śabdo napuṃsaka-lin·go'pyasti, antyam iti napuṃsaka-sāmānādhikaraṇyāt. In "halo'nantarāh saṃyogah" i. 1. 7 'hal' is masculine.

the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa: ko dhatur ityāpir dhātuh. avatim apy'eke. rūpa-sāmānyād arthasāmānyaṃ nedíyah. tasmād āper oṃkārah. sarvam āpnotítyarthah. kṛdantam arthavat prātipadikam. adarśanam pratyayasya. nāma sampadyate. nipāteṣu cainaṃ vaiyākaraṇā udāttaṃ samāmananti. tad avyayí-bhūtam anvartha-vācí śadbo no vyeti kadācaneti. i. 1. 26.

Next we find in the Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtra (ii. 8. 14): "kṛtaṃ nāma dadyāt"—a passage similar to which is quoted in the introductory chapter of Mbh.: Daśamyuttara-kālaṃ putrasya jātasya nāma vidadhyād ghoṣavad-ādyantar-antastham avṛddhaṃ tri-puruṣânūkam anari* pratiṣṭhitam. taddhi pratiṣṭhitatamaṃ bhavati. dvyakṣaraṃ catur-akṣaraṃ vā nāma kṛtaṃ kuryān na taddhitam.

Next we find in the Nirukta (ii. 2): athâpi bhāṣikebhyo dhātubhyo naigamāh kṛto bhāṣyante damūnāh kṣetra-śādhā iti, 'again, from roots of classical Sanskrit are derived Vedic names ending in primary suffixes as 'damūnāh,' 'kṣetrasādhāh' etc. Durga explains 'kṛtah' here as "kṛtpratyayāntāh śabdāh".

Kṛt is not found in RP. and TP., but occurs several times in VP.: tin-kṛt-taddhita-catuṣṭaya-samāsāh śabdamayam i. 27, etc. Both commentators take 'catuṣṭaya' as an adjective to 'samāsa' and explain 'catuṣprakārāh samāsā avyayíbhāva-tatpuruṣa-dvandva-bahuvríhayah'. In K., how-

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*In the corresponding passage in the Caraka Saṃhitā *viz.* tatrābhiprāyikaṃ ghoṣavadādyantasthāntam ūṣmāntaṃ vā'vṛddhaṃ tripuruṣānūkam anari-pratiṣṭhitam, nākṣatrikaṃ tu nakṣatra-devatā-samānākhyaṃ dvyakṣaram caturakṣaraṃ vā (iv. 8. 50), 'anari-pratiṣṭhitam' has become 'anava-pratiṣṭhitam' in MSS. and printed editions through the error of scribes who mistook *r* for *v* owing to the very great similarity of the two letters in Bengali script.

ever, catuṣṭaya means nāman, kāraka, sandhi and strípratyaya and something like that may well be the meaning here. In the corresponding stanza of the Nāṭyaśāstra we find:

एभिर्व्यञ्जनयुक्तैर्नामाख्यातोपसर्गनिपातैः ।
तद्धितसन्धिविभक्तिभिरधिष्ठितः शब्द इत्युक्तः ॥ १५।२१

Following K., the Nāṭyaśāstra does not mention kṛt.

Sarvarman, the author of K., did not frame rules for kṛtpratyayas. These were supplied by Vararuci who says in his introduction:

वृक्षादिवदमी रूढाः कृतिना न कृताः कृतः ।
कात्यायनेन ते सृष्टा विबुद्धिप्रतिबुद्धये ॥

still the name of the suffix was kṛt according to him also, for we find "kartṛ-karmaṇoh kṛti nityam" ii. 4. 41 corresponding to Pāṇini's "kartṛkarmaṇoh kṛti" ii. 3. 65.

The Prātiśākhyas of AV. also contain the word:

कृदन्ते व्यपसर्गे यत्र पुर्वेण विग्रहः ।
अनर्थकः कर्मप्रवचनीयो व्यूढो वा विगृह्यते ॥ i. 1. 10.

पा । कृदतिङ् ३।१।९३

जै । कृदमिङ् २।१।९९

शा । घ्याद्यतिङ् कृत् १।१।४३

घ्यणादिप्रत्यय-संज्ञं (४।३।६०) तिङ्वर्जितं कृत्संज्ञं भवति । वृत्तिः ।

हे । आ तुमोऽत्यादिः कृत् ५।१।१

स । लड्लृङ्वत् कृच्छतृशानौ ३।१

मु । कृद्धोः कभावे ९६६

सु । कृद्बहुलम् ४।१।१

प्र । कृतः कर्तरि १६।२

इ। धातुं सवमुपादाय सर्वं रूपं करोति यः।
कृत् स एवेति विस्मित्य तद्धर्मा कृत् प्रशस्यते ॥
धातोः कृद्बहुलं कर्तरि। ५।१-२

KRTYA.

Kṛtya is a sub-class under kṛt and is the name of the gerundive suffixes tavya, tavyat, aníyar, yat, ṇyat, kyap and kelima. It is formed from the root kṛ with the gerundive suffix -kyap and, like krt, is taken as the representative of all gerundive suffixes. As the Prakriyā-sarvasva says:

कर्तरि क्विपि कृच्छब्दो येषां मध्ये हि दृश्यते।
छत्रिन्यायात् कृतस्ते स्युरेवं कृत्यसमाख्यया ॥

Another very great advantage of the term is that its form also distinctly shows that it is a sub-class of 'kṛt'. C. uses "tavyâdi-ṣaṭ" for "kṛtya". Thus for the dictum "lumped avaśyamah kṛtye" C. has "tavyâdi-ṣaṭke'vaśyamah" v. 2. 90.

The suffixes are known as "vya" (the second syllable of tavya) in J. In RT. 'vya' stands for 'tālavya'.

Vopadeva is compelled to call these "lya" as "vya" has already been used for "avyayíbhāva". He takes the letter nearest to 'v' and adds 'ya' to it. In the Pāṇini system 'lya (p)' stands for the gerundial suffix 'ya', but as the 'l' here serves the purpose of indicating the accent and as Mu., like other grammars of classical Sanskrit, does not take accentuation into account, Vopadeva substitutes 'yap' for 'lyap'. (Śāk. uses 'pya' for 'yap'.)

Śāk. uses "ghyap" (1. 3. 168) for "kṛtya". "Ghyap" is a pratyāhāra formed with the 'ghya' of 'ghyaṇ' (Pāṇini's ṇyat) and 'p' of 'kyap'.

HN. uses Viṣṇukṛtya for Kṛtya.

पा। कृत्याः ३।१।९५

कात्यायनः। कृत्यसंज्ञायां प्राङ्ण्वुल्वचनम् ३।१।९५।१

जै। ण्वोर्व्याः २।१।१०१

हे। ते कृत्याः ५।१।४७

ते घ्यण् तव्य अनीय य क्यप् इत्येते प्रत्ययाः कृत्यसंज्ञा भवन्ति। बृहद्वृत्तिः।

मु। ते ल्याः शक्यार्ह्यप्रेष्यानुज्ञाप्राप्तकाले वा ९९०

सु। कृत्याः प्राङ् णकात् ४।१।८

प्र। तव्यानीयौ केलिमयौ क्यप् घ्यण् केन्य त्व केतवै। कृत्या लिङर्थाः। १६।९६

ह। विध्याद्यर्थे तव्यानीय-यत्-क्यप्-ण्यत्-केलिमा विष्णुकृत्यसंज्ञा भावकर्मणोः ५।१४९

The term 'kṛtya' is very happily used by Kalhaṇa (iv. 635):

नितान्तं कृतकृत्यस्य गुणवृद्धिविधायिनः।
श्रीजयापीडदेवस्य पाणिनेश्च किमन्तरम्॥

"Wherein lies the difference between His Majesty King Jayāpīḍa who has fully performed his duties and has developed all good qualities, and Pāṇini who has treated of the gerundive suffixes fully and has prescribed Guṇa and Vṛddhi?"

NISTHA AND SAT.

Niṣṭhā

"Niṣṭhā", the name given to the past participial suffixes -kta and -ktavatu by Pāṇini, was originally "nihṣṭhā", even as the word "antasthā" so familiar to us in

grammatical literature was originally "antahsthā". The visarga of "nihṣṭhā" must have been dropped later on according to the Vārttika "vāśar-prakaraṇe kharpare lopaḥ" viii. 3. 36. 1. "Niṣṭhā" is derived from the root *sthā* preceded by the upasarga *nir* with the primary suffix *an*. *Nih sthā* means 'to stand firm', hence 'niṣṭhā' means 'firm decision, perfection, completion', and thence came to mean 'a completed action'. The exactly corresponding English word 'perfect' is used in the same sense in such expressions as 'present perfect tense.' The word "niṣṭhā" goes back to RV. and is analysed in the Pada-text as "nih-sthāh" (ix. 110.9). It is used in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad (vii. 20. 1) in our sense:

यदा वै निस्तिष्ठत्यथ श्रद्दधाति, नानिस्तिष्ठन् श्रद्दधाति, निस्तिष्ठन्नेव श्रद्दधाति। निष्ठा त्वेव विजिज्ञासितव्येति। निष्ठां भगवो विजिज्ञास इति।

Though the chapter on primary suffixes in K. is by Vararuci still we learn from a rule in the Kāraka-section (na niṣṭhādiṣu ii. 4. 42) that Sarvavarman also used the term "niṣṭhā."

Candra uses "ta-tavat" every time. Thus for Pāṇini's "niṣṭhāyāṃ seṭi" vi. 4. 52 C. has "ta-tavatiṭi" v. 3. 68 and for "radābhyāṃ niṣṭhāto nah pūrvasya ca dah" viii. 2. 42 C. has "radāt ta-tavator daś ca" vi. 3. 74.

J. uses "ta" as the upalakṣaṇa for "-ta" and "-tavat".

Śāk. and Hc. use "kta" in the dual for -kta and -ktavatu.

Sam. does not use "niṣṭhā" but mentions -kta and -ktavatu each time.

Mu. follows Sam.

Su. and PR. follow Pāṇini and use "niṣṭhā".

HN. prefixes the word Viṣṇu to "niṣṭhā" and calls these suffixes "Viṣṇu-niṣṭhā", even as it calls "pada" "Viṣṇu-pada" and the kṛtya-suffixes "Viṣṇu-kṛtya."

Sār. uses "ktādi" for "niṣṭhā".

The Prakriyā-sarvasva explains "niṣṭhā" thus:

निष्ठा परिसमाप्तिः स्यात् सा च भूतार्थयोर्द्वयोः ।
अर्थः स्यादित्यभेदेन निष्ठाख्यौ प्रत्ययावपि ॥

पा । क्त-क्तवतू निष्ठा १।१।२६

का । क्त-क्तवतू निष्ठा । कृद्वृत्ति ८४

सु । क्त-क्तवतू निष्ठा ३।२।१६

प्र । क्त-क्तवन्तू निष्ठा-संज्ञौ भूते २०।२७९

ह । अतीतादौ क्त-क्तवतू विष्णुनिष्ठासंज्ञौ ५।२८

The Rāja-taran·giṇí (iv. 637) uses this technical term also:

कृतविप्रोपसर्गस्य भूतनिष्ठाविधायिनः ।
श्रीजयापीडदेवस्य पाणिनेश्च किमन्तरम् ॥

'Wherein lies the difference between His Majesty King Jayāpīḍa who brought down calamity on the Brāhmaṇas and who put an end to people and Pāṇini who laid down the prepositions *vi* and *pra* and who prescribed the suffixes *-kta* and *-ktavatu* to denote past time?'

Sat.

"Sat" is the name of the present participial suffixes *-śatṛ* and *-śānac* in the systems of Pāṇini and Devanandin (*tau sat* P. iii. 2. 127, J. ii. 3. 15). *Sat* is itself a present participle, being derived from the root *as* 'to be' with the suffix *-śatṛ*, and is taken as the type of all present participles, active and middle. HN. uses "acyutābha" for these

suffixes (*vartamānādau śatṛ-śānacāv acyutābhau phalāntaraprayoge parapadātmapadayoh* v. 3). "Acyuta" stands for the present (*laṭ*) in this system and so "Acyutābha" (literally 'resembling the present') very properly stands for the present participial suffixes. The other systems find it unnecessary to have a single name for the two suffixes and generally use *śatṛ-śānacau*, *śatrānau* etc. for them.

It may be mentioned in this connexion that HN. alone of all the systems of Sanskrit grammar uses the technical term "adhokṣajābha" for the perfect participial suffixes *-kvasu* and *-kānac* and *ki* (*parokṣātīte kvasu-ki-kānā adhokṣajābha-saṃjñāh parapadātmapadayoh* v. 20).

TADDHITA.

"Taddhita" is evidently formed from "tasmai hitam". Probably in the older grammars instead of "tasmai hitam" the rule for hitârthaka taddhita was "taddhitam" and since the word was auspicious, containing as it did *hita*, it came to stand for all the secondary suffixes. In recent times, however, a class of indigenous scholars gives a wide berth to the taddhita section on the ground that it is beneficial to others but not to one's own self. K. also uses the term "taddhita" though it deals with the very important suffixes only and Sarvavarman does not appear to have composed this portion of the work. The ancient tag has it—Kālāpās taddhite mūrkhāh. Rājaśekhara in his Kāvyamímāṃsā preserves an ancient adage—taddhitamūḍhāh Pāṇiníyāh which appears to be absurd on the face of it. The correct reading would appear to be "taddhita-mūḍhāh Kātantríyāh". J. in its search for a suitable monosyllabic term takes 'h' and 't' of taddhita and throws a 'ṛ' in between to form a word with some meaning and gets the name 'hṛt' which evidently

follows the analogy of 'kṛt' and 'mṛt'. Śākaṭāyanaprakriyā uses the word "taddhita" as the name of the section. Hc. also uses the term. Sam. includes feminine suffixes under taddhita. Mu. uses the first syllable ta for taddhita. Su., PR. and even HN. use the term "taddhita".

The word occurs in the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa, Nirukta, Dharmasūtras, VP. (i. 27), CA. (ii. 83), BD. (ii. 106)* etc.

The Nāṭyaśāstra explains the significance of the name

लोप-प्रकृति-प्रत्यय-विभाग-संयोगतत्त्ववचनैश्च ।
तस्मात् पूर्यतेऽर्थाँस्ततो यतस्तद्धितस्तस्मात् (?) ॥ १५।२९

The Prakriyā-sarvasva says:

तस्मै हितमिति ह्यर्थो यन्मध्ये ते च तद्धिताः ।

The Gūḍhaprakāśikā says:

तेभ्यश्छात्रेभ्यो हितः सुकरत्वात् नानापदव्युत्पादकत्वाच्च तद्धितः ।

Candra does not use the term. For Pāṇini's "taddhitesvacām ādeh. kiti ca" vii. 2. 117-8, Candra has "kiti câpatyādāvacām ādeh" vi. 1. 11.

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* विग्रहान्निवचः कार्यं समासेष्वपि तद्धिते ।
प्रविभज्यैव निब्रूयाद् दण्डार्हो दण्ड्य इत्यपि ॥

"In compounds, as well as in a secondary derivative, explanation should proceed from analysis: one should explain after separating the parts; thus 'punishable' (*daṇḍ-ya*) as 'deserving punishment' (*daṇḍa-arha*)."

This is based on Nirukta ii. 2:

अथ तद्धितसमासेष्वेकपर्वस्वनेकपर्वसु च पूर्वं पूर्वमपरमपरं प्रविभज्य निब्रूयात ।

In BD. i. 3:

तद्धितांस्तदभिप्रायानृषीणां मन्त्रदृष्टिषु ।
विज्ञापयति विज्ञान कर्म्माणि विविधानि च ॥

"Taddhita" appears to be used in the sense of 'contained in them'.

The Nirukta gives "daṇḍya" as an instance of 'ekaparvan taddhita' and "kakṣyā" as an instance of 'anekaparvan taddhita'. It is clear from this that Yāska included the feminine suffixes under taddhita. Pāṇini, however, though treating of both in the same chapter, puts in the adhikāra-rule "taddhitāh" at the end of the feminine suffixes. Su., Sam. and others follow the older method, while J., Mu. and others follow the new method.

Śāk. uses the pratyāhāra "ṣyat" for the feminine suffixes. Cf. pratyaya-nyak-ṣyat prakṛtyādeh i. 1. 59 where the commentary Cintāmaṇi says: ṣyad iti "gurūpottamasyânārṣe'patye'ṇiñah ṣyan·" i. 3. 2 ityārabhya "yūnas tit" i. 3. 76 ityatas takāreṇa pratyāhārah. This pratyāhāra is formed after the analogy of sun· i. 1. 62 for sup and tin·.

पा। तद्धिताः ४।१।७६

जै। हृतः ३।१।८२

शा। इजाद्यायात् तद्धितः १।१।४२

हे। तद्धितोऽणादिः ६।१।१

स। नाम्नोऽतः स्त्रियामात्तद्धितः ४।१

मु। आदिस्तः ५२८

चैक्याच्चुदषहोः (३२४) इत्यकारमारभ्य यस्त्यः (प्रत्ययः) उक्तः स तसंज्ञः स्यात्।

सु। तद्धिते ५।१।१

प्र। चित्रार्थपदनिर्माणनिदानप्रत्ययश्रियाम्।
निधानं तद्धिताध्यायप्रायमाराधये हरिम्॥
एकवाक्ये तद्धिता वा पदादर्थानुसारिणः। ७।९६०-१

ह। अथ तद्धिताः। ७।९२

TADRAJA.

"Tadrāja" literally means 'king of that' and stands for the suffixes añ, aṇ, ñyan·, ṇya and iñ prescribed by Pānini in rules iv. 1. 168-173. Though these suffixes have been enjoined in the sense of 'apatya', still because of the atideśa "kṣatriya-samāna-śabdāj janapadāt tasya rājanya-patyavat" iv. 1. 168. 3 which though not distinctly formulated by Pāṇini must have occurred in some form or other in the works of his predecessors, these suffixes are known as tadrāja. Thus the Prakriyā Sarvasva says:

तस्य राजन्यपत्यार्थतुल्यप्रत्ययशासनात् ।
तदर्थवन्तस्तद्राजा अपत्यप्रत्यया अपि ॥

K. has nothing corresponding to tadrāja. J. takes "dra" from the second syllable, adds an 'i' to round it off and forms "dri". Śāk. changes "dri" into "vri". Candra uses "ñyādi" for "tadrāja". Cf. "ñyādínām bahuṣu luk" iv. 3. 94 corresponding to "tadrājasya bahuṣu tenaivâstriyām" P. ii. 4. 62. Hc. follows J.

Kramadíśvara and Vopadeva do not use the term.

Padmanābha also does not use tadrāja. Cf. "yaskâdi-janapada-rājanyebhyo bahuṣvastriyām" v. 2. 126 for Pāṇini's "tadrājasya bahuṣu tenaivâstriyām" ii. 4. 62.

PR. also does not use the term; cf.

अस्त्रीलिङ्गे देशनामप्रसिद्धक्षत्रियस्य तु ।
तदन्तेन बहुत्वोक्तावपत्यप्रत्ययस्य लुक् ॥ १।१०१९

HN. does not use the technical term "tadrāja" but uses "rājāpatyayoh" in vii. 312 and says under "kekayād vā" vii. 315: ukte rājāpatye. atra tadrājasaṃjñā Pāṇi-níyānām.

पा। ते तद्राजाः ४।१।१७४। ञ्यादयस्तद्राजाः ५।३।११९
जै। ते द्रिः ४।२।९
शा। राष्ट्रराज्ञः सरूपाद् राजापत्येऽञ्त्रिः २।४।९८
हे। राष्ट्रक्षत्रियात् सरूपाद् राजापत्ये द्रिरञ् ६।१।११४

GOTRA AND YUVAN.

"Go-tra" literally means 'that which protects (tra) cows (go) and is used in RV. in the sense of 'cow-stall, cow-pen, hurdle', then it meant 'family enclosed by the hurdle', then it came to signify the family-name. Grammarians use this word in connexion with 'apatya' and distinguish between 'gotrâpatya' and 'yuvâpatya' and the use of the former is restricted to the grandson and his descendants, if no older offspring of the same ancestor than his grandson lives. If the son lives, then the fourth descendant is known as "yuvan", so also if some older offspring lives. "Gotra" was termed "vṛddha" by the older grammarians. Both "gotra" and "vṛddha" are sufficiently self-explanatory. Pāṇini uses the word "gotra", as he had to use "vṛddha" in another sense (vṛddhir yasyācām ādis tad vṛddham i. 1. 73).

J. and Śāk. follow Pāṇini.

K. does not distinguish between 'gotrâpatya" and 'yuvâpatya'. Mu. follows K.

Candra generally avoids the use of "gotra" by using 'pautrādi' instead (cf. apatyam pautra-prabhṛti gotram P. iv. 1. 162), *e.g.*, "pautrāder astriyāṃ gurvāyatte" ii. 4. 18 corresponding to Pāṇini's "gotrād yūnyastriyām" iv. 1. 94, "ṛṣeḥ pautrādau" ii. 4. 23 and "pautrādeḥ striāḥ kutsite ṇa ca" ii. 4. 79 corresponding to Pāṇini's "gotra-striyāḥ kutsane ṇa ca" iv. 1. 147. "Gotra" is used by Candra in its ordinary sense *e.g.* "bāhvādibhyo gotrâdibhyaḥ" ii. 4. 20 for Pāṇini's "bāhvādibhyaś ca" iv. 1. 96.

Kramadíśvara also uses "pautrādi" (iv. 276, 280, 302, 350) for 'gotra'. where necessary. In the rule "pautrâdi-pratyayântād yūni" (iv. 283) the term 'yuvan' is used. It is explained thus in the Vṛtti: jívaj-jyeṣṭha-bhrātṛko'strí yuvā. jívat-pūrvah prapautradiś ca. jivañ jívad-vṛddhatara-bhrātryanya-sapiṇḍo vā. The next rule which would appear to be a part of the vṛtti is "pautrâdih pūjā-nindayoh". In the Samāsa-section, however, we find "yuva-gotra-taddhitântayor gotra-taddhitântah" vii. 409 where the commentator Goyícandra remarks: "apatyam pautra-prabhṛti gotram iti śāstrântara-saṃjñayā vyavahartavyam."

Padmanābha uses "gotra" and "yuvan" without defining them. In the Vṛtti on "ādyād eko gotre" v. 2. 79 we find 'pautrâdyapatyaṃ gotram' and in the Vṛtti on the next rule "gotrād yūnyastriyām" v. 2. 80 we find "vaṃśye jívati tadapatyaṃ yuvocyate". Under v. 2. 100 we find "gotrāpatye ye pratyayās te yuvasaṃjñakāh".

HN. uses "gotre" in the rule "gotre" vii. 290 and explains it in the Vṛtti: "pautra-prabhṛtyapatyaṃ gotram". "Yuvan" is defind in vii. 299.

पा। अपत्यं पौत्रप्रभृति गोत्रम्। जीवति तु वंश्ये युवा। भ्रातरि च ज्यायसि। वान्यस्मिन् सपिण्डे स्थविरतरे जीवति। ४।१।१६२-१६५

जै। पौत्रादि वृद्धम् ३।१।११२। सति वंश्ये युवाऽस्त्री। ज्यायोभ्रातरि। सद्वा सपिण्डेऽधिवयःस्थाने। आर्थोऽर्चाकुत्सयोः ३।१।११५-११८ (वृद्धस्यार्चायां यूनश्च कुत्सायां आर्थः संज्ञाव्यतिहारः स्याद्वा। वृत्तिः।)

शा। पौत्रादि वृद्धम्। प्रपौत्राद्यस्त्री-वंश्य-ज्यायोभ्रात्रोः सति युवा। सत्सपिण्डेऽधिवयःस्थाने वा। युववृद्धं कुत्सार्चे। १।१।१३-६

हे। पौत्रादि वृद्धम्। वंश्यज्यायोभ्रात्रोर्जीवति प्रपौत्राद्यस्त्री युवा। सपिण्डे वयःस्थानाधिके जीवद् वा। युववृद्धं कुत्सार्थे वा। ६।१।३-५

UPAGRAHA.

"Upagraha" literally means 'seizing, taking possession of' and thence 'sense', *viz.* whether the action is performed for the benefit of the agent or not, then Ātmanepada and Parasmaipada. It also means 'that which is seized', hence 'addition of a sound'.

The word is not found in the Nirukta nor in the Prātiśākhyas, but is used by Kātyāyana, Patañjali, Śabarasvāmin and others.

Under P. iii. 2. 127 we find the Vārttika "upagrahapratiṣedhaś ca" which is thus explained in the Bhāṣya: upagrahasya ca pratiṣedho vaktavyah. katíha nighnānāh. tan·ānāv ātmanepadam ity ātmanepadam prâpnoti.

The sense is this: If -śānan, -cānaś, etc. be regarded as substitutes for laṭ, then it will have to be laid down that the designation Ātmanepada attaching to -cānaś, -śānan, etc., according to "tan·ānāv ātmanepadam" i. 4. 100 will not apply to these cases, otherwise in instances like "katíha nighnānāh," 'how many are here who possess the power to kill?' the root 'han' preceded by 'ni' being Prasmaipadin cannot admit -cānaś which is Ātmanepada. Kaiyaṭa explains in his Pradípa: upagṛhyata ātmanepada-saṃjñânayety arthah, anyathā parasmaipadibhyaś cānaś na syat.

The word is probably first explained in the Upagraha-section of the Prakírnakāṇḍa of Bhartṛhari's Vākyapadíya:

य आत्मनेपदाद्भेदः क्वचिदर्थस्य गम्यते।
अन्यतश्चापि लादेशान्मन्यन्ते तमुपग्रहम्॥

क्वचित् साधनमेवासौ क्वचित् तस्य विशेषणम् ।
साधनं तत्र कर्मादि व्यक्तवाचो विशेषणम् ॥
क्रिया विषयभेदेन जीविकादिषु भिद्यते ।
लादेशैः स क्रियाभेदो वाक्येष्वपि नियम्यते ॥
धात्वर्थस्तद्विशेषश्चाप्युक्तः क्वचिदुपग्रहः ।
धात्वर्थो गन्धनादिः स्याद् व्यतिहारो विशेषणम् ॥

By Upagraha is meant the distinction of meaning that is sometimes conveyed by the Ātmanepada and sometimes by the Parasmaipada. In some cases it is the sādhana and in some cases it is an adjective to the sādhana. Of these, sādhana signifies karman, kartṛ and bhāva.

All the distinct senses conveyed by the use of Parasmaipada and Ātmanepada come under "upagraha". Thus in the case of roots with an indicatory svarita vowel or an indicatory ñ, the use of the Ātmanepada shows that the benefit of the action accrues to the agent, in the case of Parasmaipadin roots, the Ātmanepada shows that the verb is used in the passive or neuter voice, in the case of roots like *kram* etc., it indicates the peculiar senses of 'vṛtti, sarga', etc., in the case of many roots it indicates the sense of "vyatihāra" or reciprocity and so on.

In the Bhāṣya we find under "vyatyayo bahulam" iii. 1. 85 the well-known stanza:

सुप्तिङुपग्रहलिङ्गनराणां कालहलच्स्वरकर्तृयङाञ्च ।
व्यत्ययमिच्छति शास्त्रकृदेषां सोऽपि च सिध्यति बाहुलकेन ॥

The author of the rules desires (*i.e.*, approves of) departure from the normal form in the matter of case-endings, verbal endings, upagraha (voice), gender, person, tense, consonants, vowels, kartṛ *i.e.*, kāraka and yan-. Patañjali says in reference to "upagraha": Ātmanepada-vyatyaya. brah-

macāriṇam icchate. icchatíti prâpte. parasmaipada-vyatyaya. pratípam anya urmir yudhyati. yudhyate iti prâpte.

Nāgeśa explains "upagraha" thus: upagraho lâdeśavyan·gyah svārthatvâdih. iha tat-pratíti-nimitte parasmaipadâtmanepade upgraha-śabdena lakṣaṇayocyete. 'Upagraha (primarily) means whether a thing is being done for one's own self or for others—a sense indicated by the substitutes for the lakāras *i.e.*, the verbal endings. Here by Lakṣaṇā or synecdoche "upagraha" means Parasmaipada and Ātmanepada which convey whether a thing is being done for one's own self or for others.'

The word also occurs in "na niṣṭhā-parasyânuprayogeṇa puruṣopagrahau viśeṣitau syātām" (Mahābhāṣya iii. 1. 40), 'if the past participle is used after the root to which ām has been added, then the person and the distinction of Parasmaipada and Ātmanepada cannot be indicated.' We meet with "upagraha" once again in the Mahābhāṣya in the passage "tin·abhihitena bhāvena kāla-puruṣopagrahā abhivyajyante, kṛdabhihitena punar na vyajyante"* (iii. 1. 67), 'when an action is expressed by means of a finite verb, the time, the

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*Under ii. 2. 19. 2 Patañjali says: kṛdabhihito bhāvo dravyavad bhavati. The distinction between the finite verb and the infinite forms is thus stated in BD. i. 44-45:

क्रियासु बह्वीष्वभिसंश्रितो यः पूर्वापरीभूत इहैक एव।
क्रियाभिनिर्वृत्तिवशेन सिद्ध आख्यातशब्देन तमर्थमाहुः॥
क्रियाभिनिर्वृत्तिवशोपजातः कृदन्तशब्दाभिहितो यदा स्यात्।
संख्याविभक्तिव्ययलिङ्गयुक्तो भावस्तदा द्रव्यमिवोपलक्ष्यः॥

"That notion which, though one, is connected with many actions, becoming a later from an earlier (*i.e.*, which expresses sequence of time), and is effected by the development of the action, they call by the term 'verb'. When the becoming arising from the fruition of an action is designated by a term with a primary suffix, and is joined with number,

person, and the fact whether an action is performed for one's own self or for others are indicated, but these are not indicated when the action is expressed by (a root ending in) a primary suffix.' Kaiyaṭa here says: upagraha is of various kinds, *viz.*, whether an action is being done for self or others and so on.

The Nyāsa says under iii. 1. 85:

लादेशव्यङ्ग्यः क्रियाविशेषो मुख्य उपग्रहः। इह तु तद्व्यक्तिनिमित्तत्वात् परस्मैपदात्मनेपदयोर्वर्तते।

The Śabdakaustubha (ed. Chowkhamba, p. 879) explains it more fully:

लादेशव्यङ्ग्यः क्रियासाधनविशेषरूपः स्वार्थपरार्थत्वादिश्चोपग्रहशब्दस्य वाच्यः। यथोक्तम्—

य आत्मनेपदाद् भेदः क्वचिदर्थस्य गम्यते।
अन्यतश्चापि लादेशान्मन्यन्ते तमुपग्रहम्॥
(वाक्यपदीय ३।१२।१)

आत्मनेपदादिति लादेशादिति च हेतौ पञ्चमी। इह तु तत्प्रतीतिनिमित्ते परस्मैपदे आत्मनेपदे च उपग्रहशब्दो लक्षणया वर्तते।

The Mīmāṃsakas explain "upagraha" thus:

कर्तृगामिपरगामित्वलक्षणः। स्वरितञ्जितो ह्यात्मनेपद उच्चारिते 'ज्योतिष्टोमेन स्वर्गकामो यजेत' इति कर्तृगामिफलत्वं प्रतीयते। परस्मैपदे तु 'यजन्ति याजकाः' इति परगामिफलत्वम्।

The expression "upagraha-viśeṣa" occurs several times in the Śābara Bhāṣya, and in each case it means 'a particular voice', either active or middle:

फलमसौ न प्राप्नोतीति। कथं पुनः फलस्याप्राप्तिः? उपग्रह-

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different case-endings and gender, then it is to be regarded as a substantive."

विशेषश्रवणात्—यजेतेति। यद्वा आधाने ब्राह्मणो वसन्तेऽग्निमादधीतेति। तदा तु काम-श्रुतावुपग्रहोऽनुवाद एव। ६।२।८

स्वार्थेन चाग्नयः प्रयुक्ताः। कथम्? उपग्रह-विशेषात्। उपग्रह-विशेषो हि भवति—अग्निमादधीतेति। तस्मादन्यस्याग्निभिरन्यस्य न सिद्धिः, यद्यपि क्रत्वर्था अग्नय इति। ६।६।३१

कथं पुनरयम् [उप-स्था] उपस्थान-वचनोऽभिधानार्थः शक्यो विज्ञातुम्। उच्यते—उपग्रह-विशेषात्। मन्त्रकरणे उपतिष्ठतेरात्मनेपदं भवति। ७।३।३६

यजमानफलदं ह्युपग्रहविशेषात् साङ्गं कर्म नान्येषां कामयितॄणां दातुमर्हतीति। १०।२।५०

"Ātmanepada" literally means 'word for self' (ātmārtham padam—Nyāsa vi. 3. 7) and denotes the active endings. "Parasmaipada" literally means 'word for another' and denotes the middle endings. The Pāṇiníya Dhātupāṭha uses "Parasmaibhāsa," "Ātmanebhāṣa" and "Ubhayatobhāṣa" while treating of the 1035 roots belonging to the bhū-class. At the beginning of the ad-class "Parasmaipadin" and "Ātmanepadin" make their appearance and continue to be used from time to time. Most probably the nine gaṇas from adādi to curādi were tampered with to a greater extent than the first. In the Kātantragaṇamālā Parasmaibhāṣa, Ātmanebhāṣa and Ubhayatobhāṣa occur throughout. That Pāṇini was fully aware of Parasmaibhāṣā and Ātmanebhāṣā seems evident from his rule "vaiyākaraṇâkhyāyāṃ caturthyāh" vi. 3. 8 under which Parasmaibhāṣā and Ātmanebhāṣā are given as examples in the Kāśikā. The Bahuvríhi forms Parasmaibhāṣa and Ātmanebhāṣa (corresponding to Parasmaipadin and Atmanepadin) appear to have been provided for in the Vārttika "ātmamebhāṣa-parasmaibhāṣayor upasaṃkhyānam vi. 3. 8. 1. It would appear from the Bhāṣya on vi. 3. 8 that though

ATIYA VIDYA B

Ātmanebhāṣa and Parasmaibhāṣa were used by grammarians no grammar used them as technical terms.* Since the two words are found in Dhātupāṭhas, the Bhāṣyakāra evidently means that they are not used in grammar proper but in subsidiary treatises like the Dhātupāṭha etc.

K. uses Parasmaipada and Ātmanepada, but shortens them to Parasmai and Ātmane, whenever convenient. Thus, we find: atha parasmaipadāni. nava parāṇy ātmane iii. 1. 1-2, ātmanepadāni bhāva-karmaṇoh iii. 2. 80, iṇ-sthā-dā-pibati-bhūbhyah sicah parasmai iii. 4. 93, sij-āśiṣoś câtmane iv. 1. 10, sarveṣām ātmane sārvadhātuke' nuttame pañca-myāh, dvitva-bahutvayoś ca parasmai iv. 1. 18-19, sarva-trâtmane, āśiṣi ca parasmai iv. 1. 21-22.

J. uses "da" the last syllable of Parasmaipada for Parasmaipada itself and "ma" belonging to the second syllable of Ātmanepada for the latter. Following in the footsteps of J., Mu. uses "pa" the first syllable of Parasmaipada and "ma" from the second syllable of Ātmanepada for the two padas respectively. "Pa" is, of course, an improvement on J's "da", and the use of "ma" for Ātmanepada cannot be objected to, as it occurs in 'Ātmanepada' alone. 'mai' occurring in 'Parasmaipada.'

Candra uses "tan·āna" for Ātmanepada (taking the hint

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* न चैते क्वचिद् व्याकरणे कृते । आभ्यामपि वैयाकरणा व्यवहरन्ति । जिनेन्द्रबुद्धिः आत्मनेभाष-परस्मैभाष शब्दो च न केषुचिद् व्याकरणेषु संज्ञात्वेन विनियुक्ता-वित्यलुकोऽप्रसङ्गः । ...आत्मनेपदिनश्च धातवो वैयाकरणैरात्मनेभाष-शब्देन व्यवह्रियन्ते परस्मैपदिनः परस्मैभाषशब्देनेत्यलुक् सिद्धः । कैयटः ।

परस्मैपदे भाषा उक्तिरस्य इति परस्मैभाषः । एवमात्मनेभाषः । पदशब्दलोपो निपातनात् । धातुविशेषाणामिमौ व्यपदेशौ । कातन्त्रपरिशिष्टम् । ६।१०७

आत्मनेपदे भाषा उक्तिः अस्य इति आत्मनेभाषः । एवं परस्मैभाषः । पदशब्द-लोपो निपातनात । धातुविशेषाणामिमे संज्ञे । गोयीचन्द्रः । ७।१४३

from Pāṇini's rule "tan·ānāv ātmanepadam i. 4. 47) and has no special name for Parasmaipada which he has to express by means of a periphrasis. Thus for Pāṇini's "gamer iṭ parasmaipadeṣu" vii. 2. 58, he has to frame two rules: anin··gamer iṭ" and "na tan·ānaih" v. 4. 121-122; for Pāṇini's "sici ca parasmaipadeṣu" vii. 2. 40, Candra has "sicyatan·i" v. 4. 103.

Śāk. uses "tan·" for "Ātmanepada"; thus for Pāṇini's "ātmanepadeṣv anatah" vii. 1. 5, Śāk. has "tan·o'natah" i. 4. 90.

Hc. uses the fuller forms in his definition, but in the subsequent rules he uses the shorter forms. Thus while explaining "navâdyāni śatṛ-kvasū ca parasmaipadam" iii. 3. 19 he says in his Bṛhad-Vṛtti: parasmaipada-saṃjñāpradeśāh "śeṣāt parasmai" (iii. 3. 100) ityādayah, *i.e.*, the rules in which the technical term *Parasmaipada* occurs are "śeṣāt *parasmai*" etc. Similarly in the Vṛtti on the next rule "parāṇi kānānaśau cātmanepadam" he says: *ātmanepada*-pradeśāh "sij-āśiṣāv *ātmane*" (v. 3. 55) ityādayah. It will be noticed that the rules quoted to illustrate the use of the terms "Parasmaipada" and "Ātmanepada" contain only the truncated forms "parasmai" and "ātmane".

Sam. uses "parasmai" and "ātmane" (in ii. 14 etc.) which are replaced by the fuller forms in the Vṛtti which remarks: parasmai parasmaipadam iti, ātmane ātmanepadam iti. sambandhânupapattibhyāṃ śabdalakṣaṇā. The longer forms are also used in a few rules: anṛganteg-upāntād ātmanepada-n·ittvārtho mahin··n·akārah ii. 689. na snor in··ātmanepade kramer ātmanepadārhasya kartṛ-kṛti ca ii. 717, puṣādyldito'g parasmaipade ii. 762 etc. Even "Parasmaibhāṣa" is used once in "śānah śile parasmaibhāṣāc ca" iii. 10.

Sār. and Su. generally use the longer forms throughout. In the Sārasvata-sūtra, however, "āt" is used for "ātmanepada" and "pa" for "parasmaipada" in "ād anudātta-n·itah" x. 78 and "kartari paṃ ca" x. 77. "Ubhe" is used for both padas in "ñitsvariteta ubhe" x. 80. Su. uses "ātmanebhāṣa" in "ātmanebhāṣād aya-dípa-díkṣa-n·ito halādeh" iv. 1. 63.

PR. generally uses the fuller forms, but in a few cases it is forced to use "parasmai" and "ātmane" for metrical reasons; *e.g.*, śan-sya-yogi parasmai ca vṛt-vṛdhū-syandi-śṛdh-kṛpah ii. 247, kṛñah prayoga āmantād as-bhuvoh kartranātmane ii. 320 etc.

HN. uses "parapada" (lit. the highest step or position) for Parasmaipada and "ātmapada" (lit. the step or position of the soul) for Ātmanepada. The commentary says: parapada-śabdena Vaikuṇṭhâdikam ucyata iti Bhagavan-nāmatā. ātma-śabdasya Brahma-vācitvāt "ātmapadam" Brahmapadam iti Bhagavan-nāmatā.

Under K. iii. 1. 79 Suṣeṇa explains Parasmaipada and Ātmanepada thus:

परस्मै पद्यते यस्मात् तत् परस्मैपदं स्मृतम् ।
आत्मने पद्यते यस्मात् तदेवात्मनेपदम् ॥
इत्थमन्वर्थसंज्ञाया विधानेनैव लभ्यते ।
मतं हि पाणिनेरेव सम्मतं सर्ववर्मणः ॥
मैवमन्वर्थ संज्ञायाः प्रायो वृत्तिरिहेष्यते ।
अतो न पाणिनेः सूत्रं सम्मतं सर्ववर्मणः ॥

'That which is had recourse to for the sake of another is known as Parasmaipada, and that which is resorted to for one's own self is, for that reason, known in grammar as Ātmanepada. One would gather from the use of these self-explanatory technical terms that it is the view of Pāṇini that is subscribed to by Sarvavarman. This, however, is not the

case. Self-explanatory technical terms are generally used in this treatise (and consequently they are not to be taken literally, nor is any inference to be based upon them). So Pāṇini's rule is not sanctioned by Sarvavarman.'

Similarly we find the following Kārikās quoted by Durgādāsa under Mu. 920 and by Gopínātha under Kātantra Pariśiṣṭa vi. 10:

इह लौकिकवाक्येषु व्यभिचारोऽतिपुष्कलः ।
वेदवाक्येषु यद्यस्ति नियमः केन वार्य्यते ॥
विशेषः पाणिनेरिष्टः सामान्यं सर्ववर्मणः ।
सामान्यमनुगृह्णाति तत्राचार्यपरम्परा ॥

'In the popular speech the exceptions (to the rules restricting the use of the padas) are very numerous. If the restriction be found in Vedic speech, who is going to prevent it or take exception to it? Pāṇini prescribes the special use of the Padas. Sarvavarman is in favour of their indiscriminate use and the whole host of teachers agrees with Sarvavarman.'

The meaning and uses of the two Padas are thus clearly explained by Dr. I. J. S. Taraporevala in the Jha Commemoration Volume:

Parasmaipada—Pada for another. When the action is reflected back on someone other than the doer thereof, the verb should be (in the) Parasmaipada. When it is reflected back upon the doer himself, the verb is in the Ātmanepada, the pada for oneself. Cf. *ram* to sport, *labh* to gain, *aś* to extend, *īś* to be master, so also *mṛ* to die and *ḍī* to fly. Deponent verbs in Latin are verbs with passive personal endings and reflexive or active meaning, *morior* to die, *querior* to complain, *patior* to suffer, *potior* to be master, *mīror* to wonder. The Ātmanepada endings have been preserved in the Latin

Passive alone and so the original true Ātmanepada verbs that have survived in the language have been classified as the regular deponents (George M. Lane, A Latin Grammar. Sections 785, 798, 1486). In Greek the distinction between the two padas is very carefully observed in the earlier writings and even in the later period the active and the middle senses are clearly indicated. In the Avesta too the distinction is very clear and in the metrical portion at least (*i.e.*, in the Gāthās and the Yaśts) has been carefully observed.

पा। अनुदात्तङित आत्मनेपदम्। १।३।१२, स्वरितञितः कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले। १।३।७२, शेषात् कर्तरि परस्मैपदम्। १।३।७

का। अथ परस्मैपदानि। नव पराण्यात्मने। ३।१।१-२, इन्-व-यजादेरुभयम्। ३।२।४५ (पञ्चमी सप्तमी परस्मैपदवत् निरन्वया संज्ञा। ३।१।२० टीका)

च। तङानावात्मनेपदम्। १।४।४६

जै। लो मम्। इङानं दः। १।२।१७७-१७८, ङैदितो दः। १।२।६, ञितः फलेशे। १।२।८२, मम्। १।२।८९

शा। लोऽन्ययुष्मदस्मासु तिप् तस् झि सिप् थस् थ मिब् वस् मस् तातां झ थासाथां ध्वमिल् वहि महिङ् ङिदिच्छीयसंक्ष्ण्वपस्कृ-निविशिः १।४।१-२

हे। नवाद्यानि शतृक्त्वसू च परस्मैपदम्। पराणि चानानशौ चात्मनेपदम्। ३।३।१९-२०

स। नवानि परस्मा आत्मने लडादौ। शतृवसू च परस्मै, शानानौ चात्मने। २।१३२-१५, स्वरित-ञितोः कर्त्रर्थे क्रियाफले।* २।१३२, शेषात् परस्मै। ३।३।१७०

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* वर्धमानस्तु कर्त्रर्थक्रियाफलेऽकर्त्रर्थक्रियाफले च सामान्येन विधानमेतदिति मन्यते, वृक्षान् परिवारयन्ते कण्टका इत्युदाहरणञ्च तस्य। अत एव

तव कीर्त्तिलता नाथ वेष्टते भुवनत्रयम्।
फल विश्वोपकाराय धत्ते पर्वणि पर्वणि॥

सु। नवशः पमे ङितोऽन्यङिद्भ्यां घे। ५३१

सा। नव परस्मैपदानि। पराण्यात्मनेपदानि। १०।७१-७२

सु। लस्तिङि पूर्वार्द्धं शतृक्वसू च परस्मैपदम्। परार्धमानश्चात्मनेपदं तङ् च। ३।२।८८-८९, स्वरितञितः कर्तुः स्वार्थे क्रियाफले। ३।१।११९ शेषात् कर्तरि परस्मैपदम्। ३।१।१२८

प्र। पूर्वं परस्मैपदं स्यात् तत्परं त्वात्मनेपदम्। २।११

ह। तिबादिनवनवानां पूर्वपूर्वाणि परपदसंज्ञानि, उत्तरोत्तराण्यात्मपदसंज्ञकानि। ३।३८१-३८२

NIVRTTISHANA AND SAMKRAMA.

In the earlier grammatical literature there must have been a fairly large number of technical terms ending in "sthāna". Of these Nivṛttisthāna is preserved in the Nirukta, Sarvanāmasthāna in Pāṇini and Guṇavṛddhisthāna in the Kātantra. Nivṛttisthāna is opposed to Guṇavṛddhisthāna and stands for Guṇavṛddhinivṛttisthāna. It means literally the places *i.e.*, endings (or suffixes) in which there is the absence of Guṇa or Vṛddhi, in other words weak endings or suffixes. Thus we find in the Nirukta: athāpy aster nivṛttisthāneṣvādilopo bhavati ii. 1, 'again the initial of the root *as* is elided before weak endings.'

The corresponding rule in Pāṇini is "śnasor al-lopah" vi. 4. 111 where 'kn·iti' is obtained by anuvṛtti from vi. 4. 98 and 'sārvadhātuke' from vi. 4. 110.

K. has "aster ādeh" iii. 4. 41 where 'sārvadhātuke' and 'aguṇe' are obtained by anuvṛtti from iii. 4. 39.

इति प्रयोगश्च दृश्यते। पुत्रकर्त्तव्ये पितुर्वृषोत्सर्गादावपि करिष्य इत्यभिलापं चान्द्राः कुर्वन्ति। टिप्पनी।

C. has "śnasor lopah" v. 3. 104, 'apiti' being obtained by anuvṛtti from the previous rule.

J. has "śnasah kham" iv. 4. 108 where 'ge' (meaning sārvadhātuke) and 'kn·iti' are obtained by anuvṛtti from the preceding rule.

Śāk. has "nam-astyor luk" iv. 2. 46 where 'apah' (meaning 'apiti') is obtained by anuvṛtti from iv. 2. 36 and 'śit' (which is tantamount to 'sārvadhātuka') from iv. 2. 43.

Hc. has "śnāstyor luk" iv. 2. 90 'śiti' by anuvṛtti from the previous rule and 'aviti' (which corresponds to 'apiti' of other systems) from iv. 2. 97. Hc. has *-tiv*, *-siv*, *-miv* for *-tip*, *-sip*, *-mip* of most systems.

Sam. has 'śnāstyor at" ii. 254 where 'an·it' (corresponding to 'apit' of most systems and 'avit' of Hc.) is obtained by anuvṛtti from ii. 248 and 'caturṣu' (corresponding to 'sārvadhātuke' of most systems) from ii. 249. Sam., it may be mentioned in this connection, has *-tin·*, *-sin·*, *-min·* etc. for *-tip*, *-sip*, *-mip* etc. of most systems.

Mu. has "lopo'styasor n·idrasor aghyām" 692 where 'n·it' stands for weak-ending ('apit') and 'ra' for 'sārvadhātuka.'

Su. has "śnam-astyor atah" iii. 3. 9 with the anuvṛtti of 'n·it sārvadhātuke' from the previous rule.

PR. has "asya lopo'tanāv asteh" viii. 9. 4 where "atanau" stands for 'aguṇe' or 'kn·iti.'

According to PR. the strong or 'saguṇa' or 'pit' endings are "tanu," while the weak or 'aguṇa' or 'apit' endings are "atanu":

शितामेवोत्तमपुरुषौ लोटस्तिसिमितुदिसमस्तनुः*। परस्त्वतनुः।

२।५५-६

*In PR. the ending for the Imperfect 3rd singular is *di*, and that for the 2nd singular is *s*.

'Tanu' means 'thin' and one hardly expects to find this as the term for the strong endings. It is just possible that Puruṣottama designates the strong endings "tanu" because they are unaccented. It is, however, very doubtful if Puruṣottama was familiar with the Vedic accents. It is, therefore, more probable that our author took the 't' of 'pit' and 'n' and 'u' of 'saguṇa' and formed the word 'tanu' with them. It is well-known that in Bengal *ṇ* and *n* are pronounced alike. Probably Pāṇini's "ghi" arose in a similar way from the 'g' and 'i' of "agni" and the aspirate element in "sakhi".

HN. has "śnam-astyor arāma-haro nirguṇe" i. 658. In HN. 'Rāma' means 'varṇa' and 'Hara' means 'lopa'. 'Nirguṇe' stands, of course, for 'Nivṛttisthāne'.

In the Mahābhāṣya (i. 1. 3) we find Saṃkrama used in the sense of weak endings in the passage:

इहान्ये वैयाकरणा मृजेरजादौ संक्रमे विभाषा वृद्धिमारभन्ते। परिमृजन्ति। परिमार्जन्ति। परिमृजन्तु। परिमार्जन्तु। परिममृजतुः परिममार्जतुरित्याद्यर्थम्।

'Other grammarians prescribe Vṛddhi optionally in the case of the root *mṛj* before endings beginning with vowels.'

The Kāśikā paraphrases the words of the Bhāṣya and explains Saṃkrama thus:

मृजेरजादौ संक्रमे विभाषा वृद्धिरिष्यते। संक्रमो नाम गुणवृद्धि-प्रतिषेधविषयः।

The Padamañjarī gives the following explanation of Saṃkrama:

संक्रामतोऽपक्रामतो गुणवृद्धी अस्मादिति कृत्वा।

Kaiyaṭa merely says:

गुणवृद्धिप्रतिषेधक्ङितः प्राचां संज्ञा।

Bhaṭṭoji says in his Śabdakaustubha:

संक्रामतो गुणवृद्धी अस्मादिति व्युत्पत्त्या गुणवृद्धिप्रतिषेधनिमित्त-भूतक्ङित्प्रत्ययोऽत्र संक्रमशब्देनोच्यते, योगरूढ़ेः।

Saṃkrama is derived from the root *kram* 'to step' preceded by the upasarga *sam* 'together' and has been used in the Vājasaneyí Saṃhitā in the sense of 'going or coming together.' In VP. it is used to denote the meeting of two words in the krama text (caused by omitting those between).'

It is therefore highly probable that the weak endings are known as Saṃkrama because they generally come immediately after the root just as it is, without its final vowel being changed by Guṇa or Vṛddhi.

The rules corresponding to "mṛjer ajādau saṃkrame vibhāṣā vṛddhim icchanti" from the different systems of grammar are given below:

पा। [मृजेर्वृद्धिः। ७।२।११४]

का। [मर्जो मार्जिः। ४।४।२३।] अगुणे* स्वरे वा वक्तव्यम्।

वृत्तिः।

च। मृजेरात्। ऋतोऽचि वा। ६।१।१-२

जै। मृजेरैप्। क्ङित्यचि वा। ५।२।१-२

शा। मृजुः। आर्वाचि। ४।१।२३२-३३

हे। मृजोऽस्य वृद्धिः। ऋतः स्वरे वा। ४।३।४२-४३

स। मृजोऽचतुर्ष्वपि। २।२३३। अङ्दचि वा। २।२३६

मु। मृजोऽकङिति त्रिर्वा त्वच्यणौ। ६९५

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*K. uses "guṇavrddhisthāne" in the rule "srji-dṛśorāgamo'kārah svarāt paro dhuṭi guṇavṛddhisthāne" iii. 4. 25 which corresponds to Pāṇini's "sṛji-dṛśor jhalyam akiti" vi. 1. 58. For "nivṛttisthāne" it uses "aguṇe". Thus in the very next rule we find "dín·o'nto yakārah svarādāvaguṇe" iii. 4. 26 corresponding to Pāṇini's 'dín·o yuḍ aci kn·iti" vi. 4. 63.

सा। सृजेर्गुणनिमित्ते प्रत्यये परे वृद्धिर्वाच्यः किति ङिति स्वरे वा।

सु। सृजेर्वृद्धिः सन्यपि क्ङिदचि तु वा। ३।४।८८

प्र। सृजोऽगुणिनि वृद्धिः स्यात्। अच्यगुणे तु वा। २।१०१-२

ह। सृजेर्वृष्णीन्द्रः। ३।६६५। कंसारि-सर्वेश्वरादौ वेति तु भाष्यमतम्। वृत्तिः। (वृष्णीन्द्र=वृद्धि। सर्वेश्वर=सार्वधातुक)।

Pāṇini and his followers generally use *kn·it* to denote weak endings, suffixes etc. Kātyāyana in his Vārttikas explains clearly and concisely why two indicatory letters *k* and *n·* are used instead of one: Before the *kit* suffixes Samprasāraṇa takes place in the case of certain roots (*vaci-svapi-yajādīnāṃ kiti* vi. 1. 15) and before *n·it* suffixes in the case of certain other roots (*grahi-jyā-vayi-vyadhi-vaṣṭi-vicati-vṛscati-pṛcchati-bhṛjjatīnāṃ n·iti ca* vi. 1. 16). Thus we have Samprasāraṇa in the case of the past participle *supta*, because *-kta* is a suffix with an indicatory *k*, but not in the case of *svapitah*, present 3rd dual of *svap*, because *-tas* is regarded as having an indicatory *n·* and not *k* (*sārvadhātukam apit* i. 2. 4). Similarly in the case of *n·it* suffixes and infixes like *n·vanip*, *najin·*, *can·*, *an·* etc., no Samprasāraṇa takes place because the suffixes are *n·it* and not *kit*. Thus though we have *śūna* from the root *śvi* with the *kit* suffix *kta* we have *aśiśviyat* (reduplicated aorist 3rd singular of *śvi*) without Samprasāraṇa because the infix is *can·* with the indicatory *n·*. Again the rule "*jāgro' vic-iṇ-ṇal-n·itsu* vii. 3. 85 prescribes guṇa in the case of the root *jāgṛ* before *kit* suffixes and not before *n·it* suffixes, so we have *jāgaritah* before the *kit* suffix *-kta* but *jāgṛtah* before the *n·it* ending *-tas* of the present third dual*.

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*See Vārttikas i. 2. 1. 8-11. Since the feminine suffixes *n·īp*, *n·īṣ* and *n·īn* are weak, the indicatory *n·*, though it has been used by Pāṇini for another purpose, is very appropriate in these cases.

Sarvavarman uses the anubandha ṇ for Pāṇini's *n·* because the the anubandha *n·* indicates that the root is Ātmanepadin. For the same reason he calls the n·it sup endings *n·avat* instead of *n·ānubandha*. He generally uses "guṇin" for the strong endings and "aguṇa" for the weak ones.

HN. has separate names for the pit, kit, n·it and kn·it endings:

पित् पृथुः। णित् नृसिंहः। कित् कपिलः। ङिन्निर्गुणः। किच्च ङिच्च कंसारिः। ३।३७५-९

PR. uses "guṇin" and "aguṇa" for the strong and weak endings respectively:

अगुणा अतनुर्नादिः कणङनुबन्धाः। ८।२५

J., Śāk., Hc., Sār., Su. and others follow Pāṇini and use *kit* and *n·it*. Since Sam. uses tin·, sin·, etc. for Pāṇini's tip, sip etc., the *an·it* of Sam. corresponds to *apit* of Pāṇini.

VIKARAṆA.

Both "vikaraṇa" and "vikāra" are used as technical terms in Sanskrit grammar. Both are formed from the root *kṛ* preceded by the upasarga *vi* meaning 'to make different, transform'. "Vikāra" is formed with the suffix '*ghañ*' in the bhāva-vācya and means 'change, transformation,' while "vikaraṇa" like "bhūta-karaṇa", "huṣ-karaṇa" etc. is formed in the karaṇa-vācya in the sense of 'that by which the sense or shape is transformed or modified', or in the kartṛ-vācya in the sense of 'that which transforms or modifies the sense or shape'. It is generally used in

grammatical literature to denote the conjugational characteristic inserted between the root and the suffix or ending, or between the last vowel and the following consonant of the root. In the system of Pāṇini the Vikaraṇas are *śap* (iii. 1. 68), *śapo luk* (ii. 4. 72), *ślu* (ii. 4. 75), *śyan* (iii. 1. 69), *śnu* (iii. 1. 73), *śa* (iii. 1. 77), *śnam* (iii. 1. 78), *u* (iii. 1. 79), *śnā* (iii. 1. 81), *ṇic* (iii 1. 25), *ciṇ* and *yak* (iii. 1. 66-67), *cli* (iii. 1. 43 with its substitutes *sic* 44, *ksa* 45, *can·* 48 and *an·* 52), *tāsi* and *sya* (iii. 1. 33), *sip* (iii. 1. 34), *ām* (iii. 1. 35), *aṭ* and *āṭ* (iii. 4. 94).*

Vikaraṇa in this sense is found in the Pāṇiníya Dhātupāṭha and in the Vārttikas and Mahābhāṣya:

विकरणार्था इति चेत्, कृताभिहिते विकरणाभावः ३।१।६७।२, ङितोऽनुदात्तत्वे विकरणेभ्योऽप्रतिषेधः ६।१।१८६।८, श्यन्विकरणान्नविधिश्छिदितुल्यो लुग्विकरणो बलि पर्यवपन्नः (श्लोकवार्त्तिक) ८।२।५८, यदि धातुर्विशेष्यते विकरणस्य न प्राप्नोति (भाष्य) १।१।५

The word is found fairly frequently in K.:

अन्-विकरणः कर्तरि ३।२।३२ (अनि च विकरणे सानुबन्धे सतीति न विद्ध्यात्, विकरणस्य पूर्वाचार्यप्रसिद्धत्वात्। दुर्गः), सन्व्यक्षरान्तानाम् आकारोऽविकरणे ३।४।२० (= आदेच उपदेशेऽशिति पा ६।१।४५), नोश्च विकरणादसंयोगात् ३।४।३५ etc.

Su. has a special section entitled "atha dhātor vikaraṇāh" iii. 2. 113 in which *sya, sic, ksa, can·, an·, iṇ, yak, śap, śyan, śnu, śa, śnam, u, śnā* and *śnu* are mentioned. The Makaranda does not take the trouble of explaining "vikaraṇa" The Pañjikā says under iii. 2. 113: vikíryanta iti karmaṇi kirates tan·-pratyayānta-rūpam. Vikaraṇa is also mentioned

*The *aṭ* and *āṭ* prescribed in vi. 4. 71-72 are Bhūtakaraṇas.

by the author in the Vṛtti on "subādyāh pratyayāh pare" ii. 2. 2: sup-sanādi-laḍādi-vikaraṇa-kṛt-taddhitāh pratyaya-saṃjñakāh prakṛteh pare bhavantíti paribhāṣitāh. It may be noted in this connexion that *śnam* comes between the vowel of the root and the following consonant.

PR. mentions Vikaraṇa in "an-vikaraṇā bhuvādayah" viii. 47 which is explained in Gūḍha-prakāśikā thus: ano viśeṣeṇa karaṇam yebhyas te bhuvādaya ityarthah. HN. says in the Vṛtti on "śap Kṛṣṇadhātuke" i. 351: vikaraṇākhyo'yam.

In philology the Vikaraṇas are known as Root-determinatives. The parent Indo-European language seems to have possessed no less than 32 such determinatives as enumerated by Brugmann, and Sanskrit 14.

The substitute 'cha' for the finals of the roots *iṣ*, *gam* and *yam* prescribed by Pāṇini in the rule "iṣu-gamiyamāṃ chah" vii. 3. 77 as also in the substitute *ṛcha* for the root ṛ prescribed in the rule "pā-ghrā....." viii. 3. 78 is rightly regarded as a Vikaraṇa by Western scholars. The am of the periphrastic perfect is not generally regarded as a Vikaraṇa, but there is no reason why it should not be counted among the Vikaraṇas when *ciṇ* and *cli* and its substitutes are looked upon as Vikaraṇas.

Some Indian grammarians regard the union-vowel *i* as a Vikaraṇa.

Indian professors of Sanskrit belonging to the old school generally describe a Vikaraṇa as that which comes between the root and the suffix and is absolutely without any meaning. This is not a logical definition since it excludes śnam, but a mere description.

In the Aṣṭādhyāyí of Pāṇini the Vikaraṇas are read under the general heading "Pratyayah" iii. 1. 1. Kaiyaṭa

says under "vikārāgameṣu ca paravijñanāt" iii. 1. 1. 4:

तथाच परत्वाभावेऽपि श्नम्बहुजकचां प्रत्ययसंज्ञा भवति ।

Thus he also regards the Vikaraṇa "śnam" as a suffix. though it does not come at the end of the base.

That these are not regarded as ordinary suffixes is clear from the fact that the Bhāṣyakāra speaks of *bahuc* and *akac* but ignores *śnam* in the passage:

किमर्थमिदमुच्यते ?

परो यथा स्यात् , पूर्वो मा भूदिति ।

नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् । यमिच्छति पूर्वम् , आह तं—"विभाषा सुपो बहुच् पुरस्तात्" [५।३।६८] इति ।

मध्ये तर्हि मा भूदिति ।

मध्येऽपि यमिच्छति आह तम्—"अव्यय-सर्वनाम्नाकमच् प्राक् टेः" [५।३।७१] इति ॥ य इदानीमतोऽन्यः प्रत्ययः शेषः सोऽन्तरेण वचनं पर एव भविष्यतीति नार्थः परवचनेन ।

The question is asked, what purpose is served by the rule "paraś ca" iii. 1. 2, 'a suffix comes after a base'? The answer is given that this prevents the suffix from coming at the beginning or in the middle of a base. As against this it is pointed out that when the author wants a suffix to come in the beginning he says this in so many words, as for instance, when he lays down that the suffix "bahuc" is added optionally to an inflected word in the sense of "iṣad asamāpta" and is placed at the beginning of the base. Again when Pāṇini wants a suffix to come in the middle of a base, he distinctly says so, as in the case of the rule: (the suffix) "akac" comes in before the ṭi-portion of indeclinables and pronouns. All suffixes other than these will, therefore, naturally come at the end and no special rule is needed for

that purpose. So it is no use laying down that suffixes will come in at the end of the base.

It would appear from the above discussion that according to Patañjali the only suffix that comes in the beginning is "bahuc" and the only one that comes in the middle is "akac."

Of the followers of Pāṇini, Padmanābha distinctly mentions the Vikaraṇas in the list of Pratyayas.

The word Vikaraṇa is used probably more frequently in K. than in any other system of grammar. Here also the Vikaraṇas are read under the general heading "pratyayah parah" iii. 2. 1. and are consequently regarded as suffixes.

Pāṇini and other grammarians regard *num* as an āgama in the case of mucādi roots (śe mucādīnām P. vii. 1. 59). But this *n* is certainly a Vikaraṇa. We find similar thematic roots with the nasal infix in Latin *in-n-go*, Greek *lambano*, etc.

"Vikaraṇa" is sometimes used in its ordinary sense of 'modification' in grammatical literature also. Thus we find in Ananta Bhaṭṭa's commentary on VP. iii. 136:

उक्तञ्च याज्ञवल्क्यशिक्षायाम्—

उपाधारञ्जनं कुर्यान्मनोर्विकरणे सति ।
लोपे प्रकृतिभावेऽपि नोपधारञ्जनं भवेत् ॥

इति । अस्यार्थः—मकारनकारयोर्वर्णान्तरापत्त्या विकारे सति उपाधारञ्जनम् उपाधाया आनुनासिक्यं कुर्यात् । लोपप्रकृतिभावयोस्तु तन्न कुर्यात् ।

"Ākhyāta-pada-vikaraṇāh" is used in the sense of 'words which modify the finite verb, *i.e.*, make it accented.'

In literature Vikaraṇa is found in stanza 317 of the Kuṭṭanīmata:

प्रतिपुरुषं सन्निहिताः कृत्यपरा विविध-विकरणोपेताः ।
बहुलार्थग्राहिण्यः प्रकृतय इव दुर्ग्रहा गणिकाः ॥

'Courtesans are unfathomable like the roots (bases) in grammar. They approach every man (they are used in all the three persons), they are intent on serving their own interest (they have a predilection for the gerundive suffixes), they are endowed with various emotions and passions (they take on various Vikaraṇas or determinatives) and they exact a vast amount of money (they have various senses).'

GENDER, NUMBER, PERSON

Gender.

The word "lin·ga" is used the Upaniṣads in the sense of 'mark, token, characteristic.' In the Nirukta (i. 17) also the word is used in the sense of characteristic. From this, on the one hand "lin·ga" came to mean 'the characteristic of the male, phallus,' on the other hand it came to signify 'grammatical gender.'

In AV. xii. 3. 1. we find "pumān puṃso' dhitiṣṭha carmehi," 'mount male from male, the skin.' Griffith translates as above and explains in a note: "Aśvattha with a masculine name, that has grown on Khadira which is also a masculine word." This seems clearly to point to grammatical gender which is here identified with sex.

In AB. (xxvi. 3) we find:

तदाहुः—किं सुब्रह्मण्यायै सुब्रह्मण्यात्वमिति । वागेवेति ब्रूयात्—वाग् वै ब्रह्म च सुब्रह्म चेति । तदाहुः—अथ कस्मादेनं पुमांसं सन्तं स्त्रीमिवाचक्षत इति ? वाग् घि सुब्रह्मण्येति ब्रूयात्—तेनेति ।

'Why has the Subrahmaṇyā its name?' 'It is speech,'

he should reply; 'speech is the holy power and the good holy power.' They say, 'Why then do they call him that is male female as it were?' 'Because the Subrahmaṇyā is speech,' he should reply, 'for that reason.''

It is clear from the above that the distinction of gender was perfectly well-known to the author of the Brāhmaṇa and that the neuter was often regarded as merely another form of the masculine.

Coming now to the words for the different genders 'vṛṣan' and 'yoṣā' are used in AB. and AA. for masculine and feminine genders respectively: vṛṣā vā ṛṣabho yoṣā Subrahmaṇyā (AB. xxvi. 3), 'the bull is male (masculine), the Subrahmaṇyā female (feminine)'*. Vṛṣā vai preñkho yoṣāsandī A A. i. 2.4, 'the swing is masculine, the seat feminine.'

All the three words "puṃs," "strī" and "napuṃsaka" found in later treatises on grammar appear to occur for the first time in the ŚB:

itthaṃ ha tv evāpi tredhā vihito yad asmiṃs tredhā vihitā iṣṭakā upadhíyante—punnāmnyah strínāmnyo napuṃsakanāmnyah. tredhā vihitānyu evemāni puruṣasyān·gāni—punnāmāni strínāmāni, napuṃsakanāmāni x. 5.1. 2..... tā u sarvā iṣṭakā ity evācakṣate, neṣṭaka iti, neṣṭakam iti, vāco rūpeṇa. vāg ghyevaitat sarvaṃ yat strī pumān napuṃsakam. vācā hy evaitat sarvam āptam. tasmād enā an·girasvad dhruvā sídety eva sarvāh sādayati, nān·girasvad dhruvah sídeti, nān·girasvad dhruvaṃ sídeti. vācaṃ hy evaitāṃ saṃskurute. x. 5. 1. 3. "But in this respect also it is three-fold, inasmuch as three kinds of bricks are put into it

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*Cf. ŚB. i. 3. 1. 9: योषा धे स्रुग्, वृषा स्रुवः, i. 5. 3. 15: व्यन्त्विति वै योषा, वेत्विति वृषा।

—those with masculine names, those with feminine names, and those with neuter names.....Now all these (bricks) are called iṣṭakā (f.), not iṣṭakah (m.), nor iṣṭakam (n.): thus (they are called) after the form of speech (vāc f.), for everything here is speech—whether feminine (female), masculine (male), or neuter—for by speech everything here is obtained. Therefore he settles all the bricks with, An·giras-like lie thou steady (*dhruvā*, f.)! not with An·giras-like lie thou steady (*dhruvah*, m.)! or with, An·giras-like lie thou steady (*dhruvam*, n.)! for it is the speech he is constructing."

The idea of gender is also very clearly expressed in the following ākhyāyikā (ŚB. i. 5. 4. 6-11): Devas and Asuras, both sons of Prajāpati, competed for mastery. They fought with clubs and bows but could not win. Not winning, they said, "Ah, let us gain victory in words. He, among us, who will be unable to follow up our uttered speech by (making up) a pair, will lose everything and the other party will win everything." The Gods agreed and asked Indra to speak. Indra said "eko mama," the others said "asmākam ekā," *ekā* being the corresponding feminine form of *eka*. After a few more sentences Indra dropped his atomic bomb in the form of "pañca mama" and the Asuras racked their brains to find out the feminine form of "pañca," but in vain, as "pañca" has the same form for all the three genders. Thus the Asuras lost the battle and the Gods were victorious.

देवाश्च वा असुराश्चोभये प्राजापत्या पस्पृधिरे। ते दण्डैर्धनुर्भिर्न व्यजयन्त। ते हाविजयमाना ऊचुः—हन्त वाच्येव ब्रह्मन् विजिगीषामहै, स यो नो वाचं व्याहृतां मिथुनेन नानुनिक्रामात्, स सर्वं पराजयातै, अथ सर्वमितरे जयानिति। 'तथा' इति देवा अब्रुवन्। ते देवा इन्द्रमब्रुवन्—'व्याहर' इति। स इन्द्रोऽब्रवीत्—'एको मम' इति। अथ 'अस्माकमेका' इतीतरेऽब्रुवन्। तदु तन्मिथुनमेवाविन्दन्। मिथुनं हि

—एकश्चैका च। 'द्वौ मम' इतीन्द्रोऽब्रवीत्। अथ 'अस्माकं द्वे' इतीतरेऽब्रुवन्। तदु तन्मिथुनमेवाविन्दन्। मिथुनं हि—द्वौ च द्वे च। 'त्रयो मम' इतीन्द्रोऽब्रवीत्। अथ 'अस्माकं तिस्रः' इतीतरेऽब्रुवन्। तदु तन्मिथुनमेवाविन्दन्। मिथुनं हि—त्रयश्च तिस्रश्च। 'चत्वारो मम' इतीन्द्रोऽब्रवीत्। अथ 'अस्माकं चतस्रः' इतीतरेऽब्रुवन्। तदु तन्मिथुनमेवाविन्दन्। मिथुनं हि—चत्वारश्च चतस्रश्च। 'पञ्च मम' इतीन्द्रोऽब्रवीत्। तत इतरे मिथुनं नाविन्दन्, नो ह्यत ऊर्ध्वं मिथुनमस्ति—पञ्च—पञ्च—इति ह्येवैतदुभयं भवति। ततोऽसुराः सर्वं पराजयन्त सर्वस्माद्देवा असुरानजयन्। सर्वस्मात् सपत्नानसुरान् निरभजन्।

The Gopatha Brāhmaṇa distinctly mentions "triṣu lin·geṣu" in its definition of "avyaya" (i. 1. 26).

Similarly we find in the Śan·khāyana Āraṇyaka (iii. 7): "He says to him, 'How dost thou obtain my male names?' 'By breath,' he should reply. 'How female names?' 'By speech.' 'How neuter (names)?' 'By mind.'

Here is a very clear reference to grammatical gender because the words *prāṇa*, *vāk* and *manah* are masculine, feminine and neuter respectively.

The Nirukta (iii. 21) also clearly refers to the three genders in the following passage:—

ayainetyupadeśāsya.

ayā te agne samidhā vidhema (RV. iv. 4. 15) *iti striyāh.*

enā no agnim (RV. vii. 16. 1) *iti napuṃsakasya.*

enā patyā tanvaṃ saṃsṛjasva (RV. x. 85. 27) *iti puṃsah.*

"*Aya* and *enā* are (synonyms) of reference.

'With this faggot we worship thee, O Agni.'

Here it is in the feminine gender.

'With this, to us, O Agni.'

Here it is in the neuter gender.

'With this husband commingle thy body.'

Here it is in the masculine gender." Sarup.

Coming now to the Prātiśākhyas, "puṃspravāda" is used in RP. iv. 42* in the sense of 'masculine.' Again in RP. xiii. 22

napuṃsakaṃ yad ūṣmāntaṃ tasya bahvabhidhānajah
anusvāro dírgha-pūrvah siṣyanteṣu padeṣu sah

VP.. ii. 32 maho napuṃsake etc., CA. i. 84 dírgho napuṃsaka-bahuvacane, etc. and APr. i. 17 napuṃsakam ādyudāttam brahmeti etc., "napuṃsaka" is used in the sense of the 'neuter gender.'

The generic term "lin·ga" is used in the sense of 'gender' in VP. iv. 175, APr. i. 22, etc. BD. (ii. 96) has: tríṇyeva loke lin·gāni pumān strí ca napuṃsakam.

"The distinction of genders," says Max Müller "is the only point on which the Greeks may claim a priority to the Hindus. It was known in Greece to Protagoras; whereas in India the Prātiśākhyas seem to have passed it over and it appears first in Pāṇini." (History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, ed. Panini Office, p. 85.)

Now Protagoras was a Greek philosopher who flourished about 440 B.C. and was in all probability a contemporary of Pāṇini. He used† *arren* (male, Skt. vṛṣan) for the mascu-

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* "अन्तःपादं विग्रहेऽकारपूर्वः पतिशब्दे द्व्यक्षरे पुंस्प्रवादे ।"

पुंस्प्रवादे पुंशब्दवाचिनि । उवटः ।

†Arrena kai thelea kai skeue. ARISTOTLE, *Rhetoric*. Cf. arsenikon kai thelukon kai oudoteron. DIONYSIUS HALLICARNASSENSIS.

"He (Protagoras) had also divided nouns into three classes, male, female, and inanimate (*skeúe*), a classification apparently founded on a real or natural, and not on a grammatical basis, 'male' and 'female' nouns denoting male and female persons, or distinction in sex, whether in mankind or among animals in general, and things inanimate including the names of all other objects, natural and artificial, real and abstract. This last class contains many words

line (Lat. *masculinum**) and *thelus* (female, Skt. yoṣā) for the feminine (Lat. *femininum*) and *skeuos* (implement, inanimate object, things) for the neuter.* We have shown above that the distinction of genders goes back to the Brāhmaṇa period and that the earliest name for the masculine was "vṛṣan" and that for the feminine "yoṣā." We have also shown that far from gender being passed over in the Prātiśākhyas, most of the Prātiśākhyas as well as the Nirukta show a full acquaintance with grammatical gender.

Some predecessors of Pāṇini use "vyakti"† for "liṅ·ga" as is clear from Pāṇini's rule: lupi yuktavad vyakti-vacane i. 2. 51 on which Jayāditya says: vyakti-vacane iti ca liṅ·ga-saṃkhyayoḥ pūrvācārya-nirdeśaḥ, tadīyam evedam sūtram.

It may be mentioned in this connexion that the word "vyañjana" is derived from the root *añj* preceded by the upasarga *vi* with the primary suffix *ana*, just as "vyakti" is derived from the same root with the suffix *ti*, and that "vyañjana" is used in the Śrauta and Gṛhya Sūtras in the sense of 'the mark of sex or gender', 'the private organs.'

J. shortened "napuṃsaka" to "nap" which, however,

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which are grammatically masculine or feminine, but the classification of Protagoras can hardly be identified with a classification of nouns as masculine, feminine and neuter. Protagoras uses in the sense of 'classes' the same term (*génê*), which was afterwards adopted in grammar to denote 'genders.'" Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, i. 91.

*"In the middle of the first century B.C. the Gender or *genus* of a noun or *nomen substantivum* was distinguished by the terms *virile*, *muliebre* and *neutrum* (*masculinum* and *femininum* not occurring earlier than the second century A. D.)" Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, i. 182.

†In Naiṣadha iii. 23 "vyakti" is used in the sense of 'vibhakti.'

had been in use for a long time. Thus Sántanavācārya says in his Phiṭsūtra: nab-viṣayasyānisantasya ii. 3.

"Klība" is a good old word found for the first time in AV.: klībaṃ klība tvākaraṃ vadhre vadhriṃ tvākaram vi. 138. 3. It was not, however, used in grammatical literature till a fairly late period. It is found probably for the first time in Hc. who generally uses it, but "napuṃsaka" is used in the rule "napuṃsakād vā" vii. 3. 89 (corresponding to Pāṇini's "napuṃsakād anyatarasyām" v. 4. 109). Mu. follows Hc. In Su. "napuṃsaka" is used in the sūtras, probably out of deference to Pāṇini, while "klība" is used in the Vṛtti. Thus we find the rule "svamor luk napuṃsake" Su. ii. 3. 59 the Vṛtti on which runs thus: klībe svamor luk syāt.

HN. uses "Puruṣottamalin·ga" for "puṃlin·ga", "Lakṣmí-lin·ga" for "strí-lin·ga" and "Brahma-lin·ga" for "napuṃsaka-lin·ga."

"Lin·ga" is used by K. and its followers in the sense of 'prātipadika.'

In the following well-known example of the figure of speech known as Viṣama the word "napuṃsaka" has been very cleverly used:

नपुंसकमिति ज्ञात्वा प्रियायै प्रेषितं मनः* ।
तत्तु तत्रैव रमते हताः पाणिनिना·वयम् ॥

'A swain who had lost his heart to his beloved cries out in the agony of his soul: 'I sent my mind as an emissary to my beloved, knowing it to be neuter. It, however, dallies in her company. I have to thank Pāṇini for this calamity.'

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* ब्रह्म नान्तमपि क्लीवं मनः सान्तं न पश्यति ।
किं चित्रं लोकजनकं वाक् कान्ता नैत्यकान्तकम् ॥

The reference here is to the rule "as-anto dvyackah" 151 of the Lin-gānuśāsana, the authorship of which is attributed to Pāṇini. According to this rule dissyllabic words ending in *as* are neuter.

It is a pity our poet turned to grammarians for advice in such matters. Had he consulted the Vedas he would have been disillusioned in no time, for according to the Brāhmaṇas, mind is male and speech female:

वृषा हि मनः ŚB. i. 4. 4. 3, योषा हि वाक् Ib. i. 4. 4. 4.

Another poet supports Pāṇini:

प्रियामुखं तत् संस्मृत्य दीर्घचारुविलोचनम् ।
न याति शतधा येन मनस्तेन नपुंसकम् ॥

Subhāṣitāvali 1195.

The fond lover feeling the pangs of separation from his ladylove laments: "It is because the remembrance of that face of the beloved with its long beautiful eyes does not split my mind into a hundred pieces that the mind is (considered) a enunch (neuter)."

The following stanza from Murāri's Anargha-Rāghava (vii. 39) will be read with interest in this connexion:

स्वेदार्द्रवामकुचमण्डलपत्रभङ्गसंशोषितदक्षिणकराङ्गुलिभस्मरेणुः ।
स्त्रीपुंनपुंसकपदव्यतिलङ्घिनी वः शम्भोस्तनुः सुखयतु प्रकृतिश्चतुर्थी ॥

'May the (Ardha-nāriśvara) form of Śiva belonging to the fourth sex transcending the distinction of male, female, and eunuch make you happy, the form in which the decorations of musk and sandal on the round left breast wet with sweat are dried up by the dust of ashes in the fingers of the right hand.'

The word "prakṛti" is used in the same sense in the following ingenious stanza of the Naiṣadha-carita (xvii. 70):

उभयी प्रकृतिः कामे सज्जेदिति मुनेर्मतम् ।
अपवर्गे तृतीयेति भणतः पाणिनेरपि ॥

"Both sexes should tread the primrose paths of dalliance"—this is also the view of Pāṇini who lays down "apavarge tṛtīyā", *i.e.*, the third sex or eunuch (is entitled to exertion) in the matter of salvation.

The rule "apavarge tṛtīyā" ii.3.6 really means that 'the accusative of time and place is put in the instrumental when the completion of the action and the attainment of the fruit thereof are indicated.'

Number.

A clear reference to Vacana is found in AB. vi. 6: sa yady eka-devatyah paśuh syān medhapataya iti brūyāt, yadi dvi-devatyo medhapatibhyām iti, yadi bahu-devatyo medhapatibhya ityeva sthitam. 'If the victim be for one deity, he should say *medhapataye*; if for two deities *medhapatibhyām*; if for many deities, *medhapatibhyah*.'

Similarly we find in TB: "na mātā vardhate, na pitā," that is when there are more than one victim, the singular, in "mātā" and "pitā" in the formula "anvenam mātā manyatām anu pitā" is not to be changed into the dual or plural.

Keith points out (Rigveda Brahmaṇas, p. 80) that 'bahu' is used in the sense of plural in AB. xxi. 2,15. The passage runs thus:

धारावरा मरुतो धृष्ण्वोजस इति मारुतं बह्वभिव्याहृत्यम्, अन्तो वै बहु, अन्तस्तृतीयमहः। (बहुविधम् अभिव्याहृत्यम् अभिव्याहरणीयं शंसनीयम् ऋग्जातं यस्मिन् सूक्ते तद् बह्वभिव्याहृत्यम्। अत्र हि पञ्चदशर्चः शंसनीया इति बहुत्वम्। बहूनां देवानामभिव्याहरणीयानां

विद्यमानत्वाद् बहुत्वम्। तस्य बहुत्वस्यैकत्वद्वित्वाद्यपेक्षयान्तत्वम्। सायणः)

Keith translates: 'Pouring showers, the Maruts, of daring might' is (the hymn) to the Maruts with much to be recited; what is much is the end; the third day is the end.

"Ekavacana" and "bahuvacana" are found first in ŚB.: ned ekavacanena bahuvacanaṃ vyavāyāma xiii. 5. 1. 18, 'lest we should over-ride the plural by the singular.' "Dvivacana" has not been noted before the time of Yāska: api vā medasaś ca paśos ca sāttvaṃ dvivacanaṃ syād yatra hyekavacanārthah prasiddhaṃ tad bhavati vi. 16, saptamyā ekavacanāniti Śākapūṇih iv. 15, vayo ver bahuvacanam iv. 3, ekasyā eva pūjanārthe bahuvacanaṃ syāt xii. 7, tad etad ṛbhoś ca bahuvacanena somasya ca saṃstavena bahūni dāśatayīṣu sūktāni bhavanti xi. 16. Referring to the duals and plurals in the hymns Yāska says: "api dvivad api bahuvat. tad yad dvivat tad upariṣṭād vyākhyāsyāmah ii. 25, (dvivat dvivacanasaṃyuktaih mantraih. Durga). "Ekavat", "dvivat" and "bahuvat" occur in BD. in the sense of 'in the singular' 'in the dual' and 'in the plural' respectively: pravādas tatra dṛśyate dvivad bahuvad ekavat iv. 107. The generic term "Vacana" occurs in "bhede vacanalin-gayoh" i. 43. Pāṇini follows his predecessors and uses "ekavacana," "dvivacana" and "bahuvacana." Later grammarians generally follow Pāṇini, shortening "ekavacana," "dvivacana" and "bahuvacana" into "eka," "dvi," and "bahu"—a practice followed by Yāska and Śaunaka also.

K. uses "dvivacana" and "bahuvacana" in the first chapter in the rules "dvivacanam anau" and "bahuvacanam ami" i. 3. 2-3, but in the subsequent chapters it

generally uses "ekatva," "dvitva" and "bahutva;" *e.g.*, vām nau dvitve ii. 3. 2, tvanmador ekatve te me.....ii. 3. 3, at pañcamyā advitve ii. 3. 14, ed bahutve tví ii. 3. 42, rūḍhānām bahutve...ii. 4. 5, dvitva-bahutvayoś ca parasmai iv. 1. 19, sano' lopah svare' bahutve iv. 2. 33. "Dvivācin" is used only once in the rule "yuvāvau dvivāciṣu" ii. 3. 7. "Ekavacanam" is used in the rules "kriyā-samabhihāre sarvakaleṣu madhyamaikavacanam pañcamyāh" iii. 1. 21 and "ijātmanepade prathamaikavacane" (iii. 2. 29), probably because "ekatva" does not sound well with "madhyama" or "prathama."

In Greek the generic term for Number is *arithmos* (number, Saṃkhyā). The name for the singular, dual and plural are *henikos*, *duikos* and *plethuntikos*. In Latin, the generic term for Number is *numerus*. The name for the singular is *singularis* and for the plural *multitudinis* in Varro (116-27 B.C.). "Pluralis is found later in Quintilian (circa A.D. 35-95) (who represents the teaching of Remmius Palaemon) and *plurativus* in Gellius" (2nd century A.D.).*

For the generic term "vacana" J. uses the popular word "Saṃkhyā." For "ekavacana," "dvivacana" and "bahuvacana," however, J. coined no special term but used "eka," "dvi" and "bahu" like most other grammarians. Vopadeva does not follow J. in this particular instance, but uses "dva" for "dvivacana" and frames "kva" for "ekvacana" combining the 'k' of the first component and 'va' of the second of "ekavacana," and "vva" for "bahuvacana" after the analogy of "dva." Candra generally uses "ekatva," "dvitva" and "bahutva" for "ekavacana," "dvivacana" and "bahuvacana" respective-

*Sandys, A History of Classical Scholarship, i. 182.

ly. The bigger terms are found in "ekavacanasya te me" vi. 3. 18, "íd-ūd-ed dvivacanam" v. 1. 125, "māntasya yuvāvau dvivacane" v. 4. 58, "bahuvacanasya vas-nasau" vi. 3. 17 etc.

"Vacana" means 'word, expression.' It is reasonable to suppose that "vacana" as a technical term was first used with "eka," "dvi" and "bahu" and then separated from these and used as a generic term.

"Vacana" appears to have been used in the sense of verbal endings in K. iv. 2. 88: ब्रुव ईड् वयनादिः.

पा। तान्येकवचन-द्विवचन-बहुवचनान्येकशः १।४।१०२

च। एकद्विवहुषु १।४।४८

जै। एको द्विवहुश्चैकशः। सुपश्च। १।२।१८३-१८४

शा। एक-द्वि-वहौ १।३।९८

हे। एक-द्वि-वहुषु ३।३।१८

स। एकद्विवहुवचनं च प्रथमादेरेत्रैकम्। ५।४३

एकं वक्तीत्येकवचनम्। द्वे वक्ति दिवचनम्। वहूनि वक्ति वहुवचनम्। वृत्तिः।

मु। क्व-द्व-व्वान्येकदिवहुष्वेकशः। १३

क्तेः [= विभक्तेः] एकैकं वचनं क्रमात् क्व-द्व-व्व-संज्ञं स्यात् तानि च क्रमादेकद्विवहुष्वर्थेषु प्रयुज्यन्ते। वृत्तिः।

प्र। प्रक्रमतो नाम्ना स्युस्तान्येकद्विवहुवचनानि।
वाक्येष्वेकद्विवहुषु कार्याण्येतत् तिङा सदृशम्॥ १।१७६

ह। तत्र प्रथमाया एकवचनं सुँ। द्विवचनम् औ। वहुवचनं जस्। १।१५२ वृत्तिः।

Person.

Puruṣa in the grammatical sense of 'person' appears first to have been used by Yāska:

तत्र परोक्षकृताः सर्वाभिर्नामविभक्तिभिर्युज्यन्ते प्रथमपुरुषैश्चाख्यातस्य।···अथ प्रत्यक्षकृता मध्यमपुरुषयोगास्त्वमिति चैतेन सर्वनाम्ना।·· अथाध्यात्मिक्य उत्तमपुरुषयोगा अहमिति चैतेन सर्वनाम्ना। ७।२

"Of these the indirectly addressed (hymns) are connected with all the cases of nouns and with the third person of the verb. ..... Now the directly addressed stanzas are connected with the second person and with the pronoun tvam.....Now the self-invocations are connected with the first person and the pronoun aham."

Pāṇini drops the puruṣa and uses "prathama," "madhyama" and "uttama" instead. Later grammarians generally follow Pāṇini. "Prathama" means first, "madhyama" middle and "uttama" last. This is the reason why in conjugation we begin with the third person and end with the first person.

K. generally uses "prathama," "madhyama" and "uttama" like Pāṇini, but K. uses the generic term in the rule "yugapad-vacane parah puruṣāṇām."

Candra refers to the order of the endings by "prathama," "madhyama" and "uttama."

It would appear from the Nirukta that puruṣa or person was first used with reference to the verb and then extended to pronouns and then to nouns.

The three persons are mentioned in their proper order in the description of the Rājakula in the Kādambarī (para 85) in a passage which has been quoted on p. 69 and which may be translated thus: happy on account of vast expenditure in the matter of making gifts as advised by

many officers divided into the three categories of ordinary, middling and best persons, even as grammar is well-established by the detailed treatment of the many substitutes for the endings of the first, second and third persons, of cases, finite verbs, datives, verbs and indeclinables.

In the Upaniṣads and Gītā "Uttama Puruṣa" means the Supreme Spirit or Paramātman.

Mandra, Madhyama and Uttama are used in ĀŚS. i. 5. 25, 27, 28, RP. xiii. 42 etc. in the sense of the three qualities of the voice *viz.*, soft, middle and loud respectively.

पा। युष्मद्युपपदे समानाधिकरणे स्थानिन्यपि मध्यमः। प्रहासे च मन्योपपदे मन्यतेरुत्तम एकवच्च। अस्मद्युत्तमः। शेषे प्रथमः। १।४।१०५-१०८

का। त्रीणि त्रीणि प्रथममध्यमोत्तमाः। युगपद्वचने परः पुरुषाणाम् नाम्नि प्रयुज्यमानेऽपि प्रथमः। युष्मदि मध्यमः। अस्मद्युत्तमः। ३।१।३-७

च। युष्मदि मध्यमत्रयम्। अस्मद्युत्तमम्। १।४।१४६-१४७

प्रथमत्रयं तु सामान्यविहितं मध्यमोत्तमाभ्यां युष्मदस्मद्विषये बाधितत्वाच्छेषेऽवतिष्ठते। वृत्तिः।

जै। मिङस्त्रिशोऽस्मद्युष्मदन्याः। १।२।१७९

शा। लोऽन्ययुष्मदस्मासु तिप् तस् झि सिप् थस् थ मिब् वस् मस्। १।४।१

सं। त्रिशः प्रथममध्यमोत्तमा नामयुष्मदस्मत्सु। गम्यमानेऽपि नाम्नि प्रथमो युष्मदस्मदोश्च मध्यमोत्तमौ। २।१६-१७

मु। लि-युष्मदस्मदि त्यादि त्रिशः। ९६५

सु। तिङान्त्रिशः प्रथममध्यमोत्तमाः। नाम्नि प्रथमः। युष्मदि मध्यमः। अस्मद्युत्तमः। २।१।३०-३३

प्र। त्रयं त्रयं स्यात् प्रथममध्यमोत्तममेतयोः।
नाम्नि प्रयुज्यमानेऽपि प्रथमः पुरुषः स्मृतः।
मध्यमो युष्मदि प्रोक्तः अस्मद्युत्तमपुरुषः॥ ८।१२-१३

ह। नवकेषु त्रीणि त्रीणि प्रथममध्यमोत्तमपुरुष-संज्ञकानि। २।३८३

IT AND ANUBANDHA.

Anubandha.

"Anubandha" (from *anu* 'after' and *bandh* 'to bind') literally means 'that which is tagged on' and is used in grammatical literature to denote a letter or syllable attached to roots, suffixes, augments, substitutes etc. to indicate their accentuation or some grammatical operation in connexion with them or to distinguish them from similar other things and so on. Though *anu* generally means 'after', an anubandha need not necessarily come at the end of the base, suffix etc. to which it is attached, it may come and often does come at the beginning of these*. This led Bhāravi to use the simile "prakṛti-pratyayayor ivānubandhah" (Kirat xvii. 19)†.

Though "anubandha" appears to be a very ancient term it is used first in the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana, *e.g.*, anubandhakaraṇārthaś ca (Paspaśā xvi). It is next found in K. where it occurs for the first time in the rule "āgama udanubandhah svarād antyāt parah" ii. 1. 6, but curiously enough the word is not defined at the beginning of Chapter II, but towards the end of the last chapter. This would lead one to suppose that the word was too well understood in

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* आदि ञिटुडवः। षः प्रत्ययस्य। चुटू। लशक्वतद्धिते। १।३।५-८
†See pp. 78-79.

Sarvavarman's time to need any explanation, even as "upadhā" was well-known in the days of RP. At the time of the revision of Sarvavarman's original work the word "anubandha" had probably been entirely ousted by the monosyllabic "it" and was therefore defined at very nearly the end of the treatise in the rule "yo'nubandho' prayogí". The commentator Durga explains that the root *bandh* preceded by the upasarga *anu* is used here in the sense of 'elision' and supports his explanation with the quotation "agniṣomíyo gaur anubadhyatām" !!! And Trilocana borrows this brilliant exposition and embodies it in his Pañjí!

The best explanation of anubandha is probably that offered by Kṣirasvāmin:

प्रकृतिप्रत्ययागमादेशानां यः कार्यार्थमासज्यते विनश्वर उच्चरितप्रध्वंसी सोऽनुबन्धः ।

It.

Pāṇini and his followers, bent on securing brevity, use the monosyllabic "it" for the polysyllabic "anubandha." Indian commentators derive the word from the root *i* 'to go' with the help of the agent suffix *kvip* thus: *eti gacchatíti it.* Many European scholars believe the word to be a corruption of 'iti.'* The fact that in some of the Prātiśākhyas letters are often indicated by putting 'iti' after them† lends

*"Dr. Bühler has suggested that 'it' is for 'iti,' a derivation that at once commends itself." Burnell, On the Aindra Grammar. It is interesting to note in this connexion that even now in Bengal orthodox teachers of Sanskrit grammar speak of "dhāt" instead of "dhātu".

† निर्देश इतिना । वा प्रा १।३६
अ इति आ इति etc. VP. viii. 3 ff.

support to this view. In VP. iv. 35 and vii. 9* a riphita visarjanīya is termed "rid visarjanīya." Here "rit" would appear to be merely an abbreviation of "riphita".

Pāṇini does not define or explain the word, but uses it for the first time in his rule "upadeśe' janunāsika it" i. 3. 2 and prescribes the elision of the indicatory letters in his rule "tasya lopah" i. 3. 9.

J., Śāk., Hc., Sam., Mu., Su. and others use "it" throughout. HN. uses both "it" and "anubandha" without defining them; *e.g.*, ir-anubandhān n·o vā bhūteśa-parapade i. 450 and irāmed dhātor num i. 455.

Sam. uses word without defining it in its very second rule: ṇityakathāder ādau. The Vṛtti says: ṇa id gacchati yasya sa ṇit. Sam. has a rule at the beginning of the sixth chapter "luk cihnārthasya" which is thus explained in the Vṛtti:

चिह्नार्थस्य चिह्नप्रयोजनकस्य लुग् भवति। पदसिद्धौ यन्न स्थितं तच्चिह्नार्थम्। (चिह्नप्रयोजनं त्रिविधम्। सन्देहनिरासः, तद्भावोपलक्षितकार्यप्रवृत्तिः शास्त्रान्तरप्रसिद्ध्युपसंग्रहश्चेति। यदि जस्-शसोर्जकारशकारौ चिह्नप्रयोजनकौ न स्याताम्, तदा असि कृते जस्-शसोः कार्यभेदे सन्देहः स्यात्। एकस्यास्करणन्तु न कृतं स्पष्टार्थम्। यदि डुपचष् इत्यस्य डुकारषकारादयो न कृताः स्युः, तदा 'डिवतः क्त्रिमः' [३।५७०] इति क्त्रिमः, 'स्वरितञितोः' [२।१३२] इत्यादिनात्मनेपदम्, 'षिद्भिदादेरात्' [३।३५९] इति आच्च न स्यात्। क्विप्-तुगादौ च पकादयो नापि सन्देहनिरासार्थाः, नापि तद्भावोपलक्षितत्वेन कार्यार्थाः, किन्तु शास्त्रान्तरप्रसिद्ध्युपसंग्रहार्थाः, क्विविति तुगिति यः शास्त्रान्तरे प्रसिद्धः स एवायमिति प्रसिद्ध्युपसंग्रहो यथा स्यात्। गोयीचन्द्रः।

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* भाव्युपधश्च रिद् विसर्जनीयः। वा प्रा ४।३५। रिद् विसर्जनीयश्च विसर्जनीयो रिफितः [१।१६०] इत्यत आरभ्य यः परिभाषितः। उवटः। भाव्युपधं च रिद्विसर्जनीयान्तानि रेफेण। वा प्रा ७।९। रिद्विसर्जनीयान्तं रिफितविसर्जनीयान्तम्। उवटः।

The earlier grammarians, Pāṇini, Sarvavarman and presumably their predecessors, appear to have been very careful in the selection of the letters or syllables to be used as anubandhas. Thus the anubandha *ś* indicates *sarvādeśa* in the case of a substitute and *sārvadhātuka* in the case of a kṛt suffix. The palatal sibilant was used as an anubandha in these two cases, because the word 'viśva' meaning the same thing as 'sarva' contains *ś*. The *s* of 'sarva' cannot be used for this purpose, because the anubandha *s* indicates that before a suffix containing the anubandha the stem is to be regarded as a pada (siti ca i. 4. 16). Here again *s* has been selected for the simple reason that it is the initial letter of *sup* (cf. "sup-tin-antam padam" i. 4. 14). Again the anubandha *m* in the case of roots shows that the penult will not undergo lengthening before the causal suffix (mitāṃ hrasvaḥ P. vi. 4. 92, mānubandhānāṃ hrasvaḥ K. iii. 4. 65). Here also *m* has been chosen because many roots of this type end in *m*. Again the anubandha *kh* indicates that the nasal *m* is to be inserted after stems ending in vowels, because this *m* becomes anusvāra which is represented in writing by a dot or zero and 'kha' means 'śūnya' or zero. (It may be noted in this connexion that J. uses the monosyllable 'kha' for the dissyllabic 'lopa' of Pāṇini and his followers.) We may mention in passing that the initial *kh* of taddhita suffixes is not an anubandha but merely a grammatical device and stands for *ín*, even as the initial *ph* of these suffixes stands for *āyan*. Since several prominent words taking the suffix *āyana* end in *r* (cf. Nārāyaṇa, Cārāyaṇa etc.), and since *r* is known as 'repha,' the *ph* of 'repha' was seized upon by grammarians to represent *āyan*. Again since 'kulína' is a well-known word formed with ína, and since it begins with *k*, the corresponding aspirate *kh* was

used to represent *in* and so on. Again in Pāṇini's system *vu* stands for *aka* and *yu* for *ana* ("yuvor anākau" vii. 1. 1). Possibly *vu* was suggested by the common word 'pāvaka' and *yu* by 'nayana.'

Again, according to many grammarians an anudātta vowel or n· attached to a root indicates Ātmanepada (anudātta-n·ita ātmanepadam P. i. 3. 12, kartari rucādi-n·ānubandhebhyah K. iii. 2. 42). As has been already pointed out (p. 17) the ancient Indians set great store by the virtue of self-effacement and consequently the anudātta or unaccented vowel is used to indicate Ātmanepada. In early literature "pratyan·" is often used with "ātman," it is therefore highly probable that the *n·* of "pratyan·" suggested the anubandha *n·*. It may also be argued that it is unnecessary to give any prominence to the Ātmanepada by means of an accented vowel, because the Ātmanepada has an importance all its own, exactly as it is unnecessary to accent the finite verb which is the most important word in the sentence. It may further be argued that of the letters of the vargas only the gutturals are regarded as bhoktṛ, the others are looked upon as bhogya, and so the final of the first varga is used to denote Ātmanepada because it is the supremest bhoktṛ. Ubhayapaditva is indicated by means of the svarita vowel because it is a samāhāra of the udātta and the anudātta, and by means of *ñ* because it is the nasal which comes next to *n·*.

The letter *t* is used as an anubandha after vowels to restrict its quantity according to the rule "ta-paras tat-kālasya" i. 1. 70, because 'tat' in this particular rule contains two t's. Similarly the anubandha *t* indicates the svarita accent, because the word "svarita" contains *t*. Again the anubandha *p* indicates that a suffix or ending is strong, probably

because it is the initial letter of the word "pṛthu" meaning 'broad, expansive'. Similarly the anubandha *k* indicates that the ending or suffix is weak, probably because it is the initial letter of the word "kṣīṇa" meaning 'lean, thin'.

पा। उपदेशेऽजनुनासिक इत् १।३।२, तस्य लोपः १।३।९

का। योऽनुबन्धोऽप्रयोगी ४।४।३१

अनुबध्यते इति कर्मणि घञ्। अनुपूर्वो बन्धिर्विलोपने वर्तते, यथा अग्नीषोमीयो गौरनुबध्यताम्। अन्वर्थसंज्ञाविधानात् सिध्यति, मन्दमति-बोधार्थं परिभाष्यते। परमार्थतोऽनुबन्धाः कार्यार्थं शब्दव्यवहारिभिरुपादीयन्ते। केचिद् यद्-ग्रहणं न पठन्ति। टीका।

च। अनंशचिह्नमित् १।१।५

जै। अप्रयोगीत् १।२।३

शा। अप्रयोगीत् १।१।५

हे। अप्रयोगीत् १।१।३७

मु। इत् कृते। ४

कस्मैचित् कार्यायोच्चार्यमाणो वर्ण इत्संज्ञः स्यात्। तस्य कार्येऽनुच्चारः। यथा अचि कङचाः संज्ञार्थाः। हसेऽकार उच्चारणार्थः। वृत्तिः।*

सा। कार्यायेत् ९।२४

सु। चिह्नार्थमित्। इती लोपः। २।३।१०-११

प्र। लोप्योऽनुबन्धः १।१८५

उच्चारणार्थमन्यव्यवच्छेदबोधाद्यर्थञ्चानुसंहितो वर्णो लोप्यः। यथा सि-जसादेरिकारजकारादिः। वृत्तिः। अनु पश्चात् बध्यते सम्बध्यतेऽसौ

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*Thus Vopadeva does not distinguish between "kāryārtha anubandha" and "uccāraṇārtha anubandha," though the commentators of Pāṇini take great care to distinguish between the two, restricting, as they do, the terms "it" and "anubandha" to the former. Thus under "veño vayih" ii. 4. 41 the Nyāsa remarks: ikāra uccāraṇārthah, nānubandhah. tena num na bhavatīti bhāvah.

इत्यनुबन्धः। कर्मणि घञ्। उच्चारणार्थमिति। केवलव्यञ्जनस्योच्चारयितुमशक्यत्वादिति भावः। व्यवच्छेदबोधः भेदप्रतीतिः। आदिना ईप्रत्ययवृद्धिगुणनिषेधादिग्रहः। अनुसंहितः पश्चात् सम्बद्धः। पश्चादित्युपलक्षणम्, पूर्वसम्बद्धोऽपि तथात्वेन विवक्षितोऽनुबन्ध एव ण-शन्तृशानादेर्णकार-शकारादिः। प्रभाप्रकाशिका।

UPADHĀ, UDAYA AND ANUSANGA.

Upadhā.

"Upadhā" (from *upa* 'near' and *dhā* 'to place') means literally 'setting or placing near or next to', then 'that which is set or placed next to, *i.e.*, a preceding letter or word' and lastly 'the last but one letter in a word or stem'.

RP. stands alone among the Prātiśākhyas and early treatises on grammar in not defining Upadhā and in using the word generally in the sense of 'a preceding letter or word.' Of course the preceding letter happens to be the penult in many cases, but at the time of this Prātiśākhya the sense does not appear to have crystallised into the penult. RP. also uses the derivatives "upadhíyamāna" and "upahita"* in the sense of 'preceded by'.

The term is wanting in TP., but in VP. and CA. it has the same technical sense as in Pāṇini.

The word occurs by itself only once in the Nirukta in a passage which is rather obscure: "vabdhāṃ te harídhānā upa ṛjíṣaṃ jighratām" ityapi nigamo bhavati. ādinābhyāsenopahitenopadhām ādatte. babhastir atti-karmā. v. 12. This is explained by Durga thus: ādāv abhyāseno-

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* अन्याद्यपि तथायुक्तभावोऽन्तोपहितात् सतः २।३६ पदैरुपहितैर्नैतैः २।३८ सर्वैः प्रथमेरुपधीयमानः शकारः शाकल्यपितुश्छकारम् ४।४

paśleṣitenopadhām ādatte, dhakāreṇa nimitta-bhūtenopadhām akāram ādatte lumpati.

In "upadhā-lopa" ("athāpy upadhā-lopo bhavati. jagmatur jagmur iti" Nirukta ii. 1) and "upadhā-vikāra" ("athāpy upadhā-vikāro bhavati, rājā daṇḍíti Ib.) it plainly means 'a penult'.

Upadhā occurs in the Uṇādi-sūtras also in the sense of 'a penult', *e.g.*, caki-ramyoı uccopadhāyāh ii. 14. kameh kid uccopadhāyāh iii. 138 etc.

K. agrees with Pāṇini in its use of the term.

J. contracts "upadhā" to "un·" with the 'u' of the first syllable and the nasal 'n·' to round it off. Mu. follows J.

C., Śāk., Hc., Sam. and others prefer the term "upānt(y)a" as being self-explanatory. Thus C. has "mād upāntāc ca mator vah" vi. 3. 35, Śāk. "māntopāntajayo mator mo vah" i. 2. 96 and Hc. "māvarṇāntopāntāpañcama-vargān mator mo vah" ii. 1. 94 for Pāṇini's "mād upadhāyāś ca mator vo' yavādibhyah" and "jhayah" vii. 2. 9-10.

Commenting on "upāntasya varge" Sam. i. 133, Goyícandra says:

उपगतोऽन्तादुपान्तः। क्रान्ताद्यर्थत्वात् प्रादिसमासः। अव्ययीभावे तु षष्ठ्याः स्थाने मः स्यात्। पदोपान्तस्य नकारस्य वर्गपरत्वासम्भवात् प्रकृत्युपान्तस्य ग्रहणम्। अन्तसमीपस्य नकारस्य वर्गे परे तद्वर्गान्तो भवति।

HN. takes the name of Hari that sounds like "upadhā" and its term is Uddhava.

वा प्रा। अन्त्याद्वर्णात् पूर्व उपधा १।३५

चतुरध्यायिका। वर्णादन्त्यात् पूर्व उपधा १।९२

पा। अलोऽन्त्यात् पूर्व उपधा १।१।६५

का। अन्त्यात् पूर्व उपधा २।१।११

जै। उपान्त्यालुङ् १।१।७७

मु। पूर्वोऽन्त्यादुङ् ९२

सा अन्त्यात् पूर्व उपधा ९।२३

सु। उपधोपान्त्यः १।१।२९

प्र। उपान्त उपधोच्यते २।१८१

ह। उद्भवः॥ अन्त्यात् पूर्ववर्ण उद्भवसंज्ञः। उपधेति तु प्राञ्चः १।२२४

Udaya.

"Udaya" literally means 'that which rises', then it came to mean 'that which follows'. It is used in this sense in all the Prātiśākhyas. In the Aṣṭādhyāyí the term occurs only once in the rule "nodātta-svaritodayam a-Gārgya-Kāśyapa-Gālavānām" iii. 4. 6—a rule of doubtful authenticity. Vāmana says in the Kāśikā: udātta-parasyeti vaktavye udaya-grahaṇam man-galārtham. Haradatta explains:

उदयशब्दः परशब्देन समानार्थः प्रातिशाख्येषु प्रसिद्धः।

In RP. "udaya" is often used in contrast with "upadhā"; *e.g.*, "anudāttodaye punah svaritaṃ svaritopadhe" iii. 12, 'in a coalescence, however, where a *following* anudātta is *preceded* by a svarita, the syllable of combination is svarita'. In ii. 81 occurs "upadhānibhodayāh" 'having the following vowels like the preceding ones.'

In viii. 2 "udaya" is used twice in the expression "udayodayāh" which means 'which follow words that follow'.

TP. uses "udaya" in this sense in the rule "udaya-svarādi-sasthāno hakāra ekeṣām" ii. 47, "according to some

authorities, *h* has the same position as the beginning of the *following* vowel". In VP. we find "nedātta-svaritodayam" iv. 143, "patyau tālavya-svarodaye" iii. 35 where "tālavya-svarodaya" means '*ending* in a palatal vowel', etc.

In CA. "udātta-svaritodayānām" occurs in iii. 65. In the commentary on CA. iii. 27 "n-aṇ-anā hrasvopadhāh svare" we find:

ङ-ण-नास्तु पदान्ता ये ह्रस्वपूर्वाः स्वरोदयाः ।
तेषां द्विर्वचनमिच्छन्ति प्रत्यङ्ङुद्यन् सुगण्णिति ॥

In RT. we find "ca-la-modayam eke" 175, "some authorities prescribe the change of *ś* into *ch*, when it is followed by *c*, *l* and *m*".

Anuṣan·ga.

"Anuṣan·ga" (from *anu* 'after' and *sañj* 'to stick to, to attach to') means 'close connexion' and is applied to the penultimate nasals of roots in grammatical literature, probably because these nasals were felt to be separate entities attached to the roots, since they appear sometimes with these nasals and sometimes without them. The word "Anuṣan·ga" might also have been chosen because it contains two nasals. In RP. xiv. 9 we find "nāsikayos tvanuṣan·ge' nunāsikam", 'when the letter is pronounced closely connected with the nose it becomes nasalized' (nāsikayor yadā varṇo'nuṣajyate—Uvaṭa). It is just possible that the technical term Anuṣan·ga stands for "nāsikayor anusan·gah". The word is not found in Pāṇini but occurs once in Kātyāyana: antyāt pūrvo masjer anuṣan·ga-saṃyogādilopārtham i. 1. 47. 2. The Nyāsa defines the word thus under ii. 1. 47: nakārasyopadhāyā anuṣan·ga iti pūrvā-

cāryaih kṛtā saṃjñā. The Padamañjarí says the same thing. The Śabdakaustubha also says:

उपधाभूतस्य नकारस्यानुषङ्ग इति प्राचां संज्ञा ।

We find the word fully defined for the first time in K. where immediately after the rule "antyāt pūrva upadhā" occurs the rule "vyañjanān no'nuṣan·gah" ii. 1. 12. The Vṛtti explains:

लिङ्गस्य *धातो र्वा अन्त्याद् व्यञ्जनाद् यः पूर्वो नकारः सोऽनुषङ्गो भवति ।

Curiously enough Su. uses the word without defining it in its rule "aniditām anuṣan·gasya kn·iti" iii. 3. 73 on which the commentary Makaranda remarks:

ननु अनुषङ्ग-संज्ञा तावदिह न विहिता । कस्तावदनुषङ्गः ? सत्यम् । हलन्तोपान्त्यो नकारोऽनुषङ्ग इति प्रसिद्ध इह वर्गवद् गृह्यते । तथाच व्यञ्जनान्नोऽनुषङ्ग इति कातन्त्रसूत्रम् ।

HN. calls it "uddhava-narāma" i. 453 (= upadhā-nakāra) of "viṣṇujanānta dhātu" (= vyañjanānta dhātu). In PR. ii. 47 we find "antya-vyañjanādi-na."

"Anuṣan·ga" is also used in the sense of the connexion of a word or expression used in one connexion with another word or expression.

आवृत्तिः स्वस्थानस्थितस्य पुनरनुसन्धानम् ।
स्थानान्तरस्थस्यानुसन्धानमनुषङ्गः ।
स्थानान्तरस्थस्य स्वस्थानेऽनुसन्धानमनुवृत्तिः ।
अश्रुतपदानामनुसन्धानमध्याहारः ।

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* "नकारजावनुस्वार-पञ्चमौ झलि धातुषु ।
सकारजः षकारश्च षाट्वर्गस्तवर्गजः ॥"

SAṂHITĀ AND SANDHI.

"Saṃhitā" in the sense of 'putting together' (*sam* 'together' and *dhā* 'to put') occurs in RV. As a feminine substantive, however, it is first met with in the Taittirīyopaniṣad in the sense of 'conjunction, connexion.' In its technical sense of 'the closest connexion of words' it is first found in the Nirukta. In the Prātiśākhyas it is generally used in the sense of the Saṃhitā-text as opposed to the Pada-text. (It may be mentioned in this connexion that Nirbhuja in the sense of the Saṃhitā-text and Pratṛṇṇa in the sense of the Pada-text occur as early as AA.) From meaning words or sounds in the closest juxtaposition Saṃhitā came to mean the modifications caused by such juxtaposition—a sense in which the word "sandhi" is used.

"Sandhi" is also a good old word going back to RV. in the sense of 'joint', but it is found from the Prātiśākhyas downwards in the sense of the 'modifications caused by the juxtaposition of letters'.* In this sense the word is conspicuous by its absence in the Nirukta and Pāṇini. But

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*In RP. Sandhi is used in the sense of mere juxtaposition of letters also. Thus where an initial and a final consonant occur one after the other and neither of them undergoes any change, the Sandhi is known as Avaśan·gama (yatra dvayor vyañjanayor avikārah so vaśan·gamah sandhih —Uvaṭa on RP. iv. 1). The Yājñavalkya Śikṣā, however, distinctly says that Sandhi has four varieties *viz.* elision, augment, change and the retention of the original form:

सन्धिश्चतुर्विधो भवति—लोपागमविकाराः प्रकृतिभावश्चेति ।

By Prakṛtibhāva is evidently meant the absence of Sandhi in the case of Pragṛhya vowels, as also the non-mutation of a Visarjanīya into a sibilant or Jihvāmūlīya or Upadhmānīya.

the reason for the non-mention of the word in these two works is not far to seek. The Nirukta has hardly any occasion to refer to the phenomenon and Pāṇini did not require a special name for the changes induced by the closest connexion of words and so gives a wide berth to it, as he does to the names of the special kinds of euphonic combinations like "anvakṣara-sandhi", "Praśliṣṭa sandhi", etc.

Following in the foot-steps of Patañjali*, Candra dispenses with the use of the word Saṃhitā and the Vṛtti remarks: saṃhitāyām iti na vaktavyam, ādhārasyaupaśleṣikatvāt v. 1. 70.

Śāk. also avoids both "saṃhitā" and "sandhi". The commentator of the Śakaṭāyana Prakriyā Saṃgraha says at the beginning of the Sandhi-section: pūrvottaravarṇānām avirāmeṇoccāraṇaṃ sandhānaṃ sandhih saṃhiteti yāvat.

J. has the adhikāra-rule "sandhau" iv. 3. 68 corresponding to Pāṇini's "saṃhitāyām" vi. 1. 72.

He. lays down rules of Sandhi in i. 2 and i. 3 and uses the word "sandhi" in rules i. 3. 52 and vii. 4. 111. He uses "Saṃhitā" in "tayor yvāu svare saṃhitāyām" vii. 4. 103, corresponding to Pāṇini's "tayor yvāv aci saṃhitāyām" viii. 2. 108. He distinguishes between Sandhi and Saṃhitā when he says in his Bṛhadvṛtti on "na sandhih" i. 3. 52: virāmād anyatra tu saṃhitāyāṃ sandhir eva.

Later grammarians found the use of "Saṃhitā" superfluous and retained the shorter term "Sandhi" formed from the same root with the same prefix. K. has a chapter

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* अयं योगः शक्योऽवक्तुम्। कथम्। अधिकरणं नाम त्रिप्रकारम्—व्यापकम् औपश्लेषिकं वैषयिकमिति। शब्दस्य च शब्देन कोऽन्योऽभिसम्बन्धो भवितुमर्हत्यन्यदत उपश्लेषात्। इको यणचि [६।१।७७] अच्युपश्लिष्टस्येति। तत्रान्तरेण संहितावचनं संहितायामेव भविष्यति। ६।१।७२ भाष्यम्।

entitled "Sandhi-vṛtti" or "Sandhi-pāda", and the word "sandhi" is used in the rule "na visarjanīya-lope punah sandhih" i. 5. 16. The derivative "sandheya" occurs in the rule "na vyañjane svarāh sandheyāh" i. 2. 18. Durga says in his commentary on i. 2. 18:

सन्धानं सन्धिः। उत्कृष्टो वर्णानां सन्निकर्ष उच्यते। तद्विषयमपि कार्यं समानदीर्घादि सन्धिरित्यभिमतम्, उपचारात्।

Kavirāja says under the same rule:

अस्मन्मते सन्धिरिति संज्ञा न कृता, तस्मात् सन्धि-पदेन किमुच्यते? पाणिनिनापि सन्निकर्षः सन्धिरिति सूत्रितम्, श्रीपतिनापि सुसन्निकर्षः सन्धिरित्युक्तम्। सत्यं वर्णानां समवायः सन्धिरितिव्युत्पत्त्या इहोच्यते। अथ तथापि कथं सन्धिशब्देन दीर्घादिरुच्यते, सन्निकर्षस्य धर्मपरत्वात्? सत्यम्, सन्धिविधेयकार्यं सन्धिरित्युपचारात्।

Again, under i. 1. 13 Kavirāja says:

अनेन संहिता न विकल्प्यते। किं तर्हि? सत्यामपि संहितायां तदाश्रितं सन्धिकार्यमेव।

Sam. has got the sandhipāda i. 1 and the word 'sandhi' occurs in "lug-yāder na sandhih" i. 360 where the Vṛtti says "varṇānāṃ druta-taroccāraṇaṃ sandhih, upacārāt tat-kāryaṃ ca". The last rule of the section also mentions sandhi:

सन्धिरेकपदे नित्यो नित्यो धातूपसर्गयोः।
सूत्रेष्वपि तथा नित्यः *सैवान्यत्र विभाषितः॥

In the printed editions this is given as a sūtra, but it may very well be a portion of the Vṛtti.

*This may be defended according to Pāṇini's rule "so'ci lope cet pāda-pūraṇam" vi. 1. 134, but it is evidently taken from a stanza containing the feminine word "saṃhitā."

Su. has got its sandhi-section consisting of 'ac-sandhi', 'hal-sandhi' and 'visarga-sandhi', and mentions 'sandhi' in the rule "na sandhir visarga-ya-va-lope" i. 2. 27 etc.

PR. speaks of 'svara-sandhi', 'vyañjana-sandhi' and 'visarga-sandhi' and uses the word "sandhi" in "ayādīnāṃ vā padānta-yvor lopaḥ sandhyabhāvakṛt" i. 75, "dvi-vacanam ídūde syāt sandhi-virodhi svataḥ paratrāpi" i. 78, etc. and defines sandhi in i. 165.

HN. retains the word "sandhi" which it defines in i. 45. It speaks of Sarveśvara-sandhi, Viṣṇujana-sandhi and Viṣṇusarga-sandhi.

Mu. speaks of 'ac-sandhi', 'hal-sandhi', 'visarga-sandhi' and uses the word "sandhi" in the rule "lupi na sandhyādya-vidhí" 15.

"Sandhāna" is used in the sense of 'euphonic combination' in RP. x. 17:

इतिपूर्वेषु सन्धानं पूर्वैः स्वः स्यादसंहितम् ।
तदवग्रहवद् ब्रूयात् ॥

"Euphonic combination in case of words preceded by *iti* (is desired) by old (teachers). But *svaḥ* should remain uncombined. One should recite it with an avagraha."

The word "sandhya" is used in the Prātiśākhyas in the sense of 'belonging or pertaining to or resulting from euphonic combination'.

"Sandhyaksara" is found in the Prātiśākhyas, Vārttika, Bhāṣya and K. in the sense of diphthongs (lit. 'letters of combination').

Both Sandhi and Saṃhitā are used in the following passage of AA. iii. 1. 5:

येन सन्धिं विवर्तयति,* येन स्वरास्वरं विजानाति, येन मात्रामात्रां विभजते सा संहिता ।

Sāyaṇa explains:

सन्धिं पूर्वोत्तरयोः सन्निकर्षमध्येता विवर्तयति विशेषेण सम्पादयति । स्वरम् अस्वरं च विविच्य जानाति । 'अग्निमीळे" इत्यत्रोत्तरपदे पद-कालवदनुदात्तस्वरो न भवति, किन्तु स्वरित-प्रचयौ स्वरावित्येतादृशो विवेकः । मात्राम् अमात्रां च विभजते । "तवेत् तत् सत्यमङ्गिरः" इत्यत्र पदकाले वकारस्योपरि ह्रस्वोऽकारो दृश्यते, संहिताकाले न भवति, किन्त्वे-कारो मात्रेत्ययं विभागः ।

Śrīpatidatta distinguishes between 'Saṃhitā' and 'sandhi' in his Kātantra Pariśiṣṭa. He holds that the coming together of two letters without any intervening vowel or consonant and the pronouncing of the one immediately after the other without an interval of even half a mora is Saṃhitā. And when letters come together in this way "sandhi" takes place: dvayoh susannikarṣah i. 95. Here susannikarṣah is evidently a paraphrase of "parah sannikarṣah" of Pāṇini. Śrīpati says in the Vṛtti:

वर्णान्तराव्यवहितयोर्द्वयोर्वर्णयोः सुसन्निकर्षो भवति । स हि निरतिशयमानन्तर्यम् । अर्धमात्राकालेनाव्यवायः संहितोच्यते । पाणी कुण्डे नद्यौ वध्वौ प्लवते गायति । संहितायामेव सन्धयः स्युः ।

नि । परः सन्निकर्षः† संहिता १।१।१७

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*यद्धि सन्धिं विवर्तयति तन्निर्भुजस्य रूपम् । अथ यच्छुद्धे अक्षरे अभिव्याहरति तत् प्रतृण्णस्य । ऐतरेयारण्यक ३।२।३

निर्दिष्टौ भुजसदृशौ पूर्वोत्तरशब्दौ यस्मिन् संहितारूप उच्चारणे तदुच्चारणं निर्भुजम् विच्छेदरूपहिंसावाचिना प्रतृण्णशब्देन विच्छिन्नं पदमभिधीयते । सायणः ।

†उदात्तानुदात्तस्वरितानां परः सन्निकर्ष ऐकश्रुत्यम् । आश्वलायनश्रौतसूत्रम् १।२।९ ।

ऋप्रा। संहिता पदप्रकृतिः। पदान्तान् पदादिभिः सन्दधदेति यत् सा कालाव्यवायेन। २।१-२

तैप्रा। अथ संहितायामेकप्राणभावे ५।१ अथ चतस्रः संहिताः २४।१, नानापदसन्धानसंयोगः पदसंहितेत्यभिधीयते २४।३

वाप्रा। वर्णानामेकप्राणयोगः संहिता १।१५८, पूर्वेणोत्तरः संहितः १।१५५, पदविच्छेदोऽसंहितः १।१५६, संहितायाम् ३।१, पदान्तपदाद्योः सन्धिः ३।३ (ते सन्धयश्चत्वारो भवन्ति—स्वरयोः व्यञ्जनयोः स्वरव्यञ्जनयोश्च। स्वरव्यञ्जनयोस्तु द्विप्रकारः पूर्वः स्वरो भवति पश्चाद् व्यञ्जनानि, व्यञ्जनानि वा पूर्वाणि भवन्ति पश्चात् स्वर इति। उवटः।)

ऋत। सन्निकर्षः संहिता ६७

पा। परः सन्निकर्षः संहिता १।४।१०९

भाष्यम्। शब्दाविरामः संहिता।···ह्रादाविरामः संहिता।··· पौर्वापर्यमकालव्यवेतं संहिता। १।४।१०८, संहिता अवसानमिति लोकविदितावर्थौ, एवं हि कश्चित् कञ्चिदधीयानमाह—'शन्नोदेवीयं संहितयाधीष्व' इति। स तत्र परमसन्निकर्षमधीते। १।४।१०९ (यथा पदनैरन्तर्ये संहिताव्यवहारस्तथैकपद्येऽपि वर्णनैरन्तर्ये। कैयटः।)

प्र। प्रकृतेः प्रत्ययस्यापि सम्बन्धनियमं विना।
वर्णसंज्ञानुबन्धी यः कार्यः स सन्धिरुच्यते॥ १।१६५
विलम्बितोच्चारणे तु सन्ध्यभावः क्वचिद्भवेत्। १।१६६

ह। सर्वप्रकरणव्यापी वर्णमात्रनिमित्तकः।
वार्णो विकारः सन्धिः स्याद् विषयापेक्षकः क्वचित्॥ १।४५
सन्धिरेकपदे नित्यं नित्यं धातूपसर्गयोः।
अनित्यं सूत्रनिर्देशेऽन्यत्र चानित्यमिष्यते॥ १।४४

It will be noticed that in grammatical literature three words belonging to three different genders are used to denote euphonic combination. They are Sandhi (masc.), Saṃhitā (fem.) and Sandhāna (neut.). In the Kārikā "sandhir

ekapade nityam'' there is a contamination of 'sandhih' and 'sandhānam', just as in the Kārikā ending in ''saivānyatra vibhāṣitah'' there is the contamination of 'saṃhitā' with 'sandhih'.

The Sūktimuktāvali quotes two stanzas containing the word ''sandhi'' in its grammatical sense:

मा स्म सन्धिं विजानन्तु मा स्म जानन्तु विग्रहम् ।
आख्यातं यदि शृण्वन्ति भूपास्तेनैव पण्डिताः ॥

'Let them be ignorant of *sandhi* (peace, euphonic combination), let them be ignorant of *vigraha* (war, dissolution of compounds), if kings listen to *ākhyāta* (what is told them, verbs), they will become learned by that only'.

सन्धानानि विसन्धयः प्रकृतयस्ताभ्यः परः प्रत्ययो
देव व्याकरणादभेदकमिदं वैधर्म्यमेतत् तव ।
आदेशो न विकल्प्यते न च कृतं किञ्चित् क्वचिल्लुप्यते
नो वृद्धिर्गुणबाधिका न पुरुषः कार्य्ये क्वचिन्मध्यमः ॥

'Alliances (euphonic combinations), breaking up of alliance (absence of euphonic combination), subjects (stems), knowledge excelling that of the subjects (suffixes added to the stems)—these, Sire, are common to both Your Majesty and grammar. In the following respects, however, Your Majesty differs from grammar: Your commands are never called in question (a substitute is never prescribed optionally), nor is anything done anywhere destroyed (nor does anything prescribed undergo elision), nor does prosperity put an end to your good qualities (nor does Vṛddhi supersede Guṇa), nor is your officer mediocre in any business (nor is there any second person in the case of any verb).'

It has to be remembered in this connexion that in grammar we sometimes come across substitutes that are

optional, *e.g.*, vibhāṣā lun-lṛn-oh ii. 4. 50 which makes the substitute *gā* for *iṇ* optional in the aorist and conditional; that what is prescribed sometimes undergoes elision, *e.g.*, the whole of the suffix *kvip;* that Vṛddhi sometimes supersedes Guṇa, *e.g.*, "vṛddhir eci" vi. 1. 88 supersedes "ād guṇah" vi. 1. 87; and that the second person has an honoured place in grammar.

In the following stanza, the grammatical sense of the word "sandhi" would also appear to be working at the back of the writer's mind:

स्तनराजौ तथान्योन्यं मण्डलाक्रमणोद्यतौ ।
कर्तुं यथैतयोः सन्धिर्विधात्रापि न शक्यते ॥

The Padyaveṇī contains the following stanza on Sandhi-vṛtti or the phenomenon of Sandhi:

व्यञ्जनस्वरसमानसंज्ञका
कान्तवर्णपदशब्दसाधना ।
सन्धिवृत्तिरिव कृष्णकामिनी
यामिनीमपि निनाय मानतः* ॥

'Kṛṣṇa's inamorata whose name consisted of an equal number of vowels and consonants, and whose complexion, steps, voice and curves were all that could be desired, even as the phenomenon of Sandhi' is designated Svarasandhi and

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*"Māna" is thus explained in the previous stanza (480):

योऽन्यत्र कोपो रसिकैः स एव प्रियाकृतो मान इति प्रतीतः ।
यः क्षारकेदारमहीषु काशः स संस्कृतक्षेत्रप्रभवो महेक्षुः ॥

This reminds one of the following stanza of Govardhana:

अन्यमुखे दुर्वादो यः प्रियवदने स एव परिहासः ।
इतरेन्धनजन्मा धूमः सोऽगुरुभवो धूपः ॥

Vyañjanasandhi and is used in the formation of crude stems and inflected words by means of nice letters (or in the formation of expressions consisting of words containing nice letters) spent the whole night in (a fit of) jealous anger (482)'.

It may be incidentally mentioned that since Patañjali defines Vṛtti as "parārthābhidhāna" or the conveying of some sense over and above or beyond that which is expressed by the constituent elements, it is hardly proper to speak of Sandhivṛtti which appears to have gained currency after the analogy of expressions like Kṛdvṛtti, taddhita-vṛtti, samāsavṛtti etc.

DIFFERENT VARIETIES OF SANDHI

Since the followers of Pāṇini read Anusvāra and Visarjanīya after *a* and also include them in the Pratyāhāra *śar*, according to them there will be two varieties of Sandhi, *viz.*, ac-sandhi or svara-sandhi and hal-sandhi or vyañjana-sandhi. But as the various transformations of the Visarjanīya occupy a prominent place in the scheme of Sandhi, so many scholars add a third variety, *viz.*, Visarjanīya-sandhi to the two already mentioned. In K. we find these three varieties along with Prakṛti-bhāva which is regarded by some as a fourth variety, *viz.*, Prakṛti Sandhi. These along with the first section which deals with Saṃjñās are regarded as constituting Pañca Sandhi, *i.e.*, the five sandhis. Thus the commentary Prakāśa on the Prakriyā-Kaumudī says:

एवं तावद् यथा कथञ्चिच्चत्वारः सन्धयो भवन्तु नाम। (अच्सन्धिः।

हल्सन्धिः। विसर्गसन्धिः। स्वादिसन्धिः।) पञ्चसन्धिप्रवादस्तु सन्ध्यर्थकत्वात् संज्ञाप्रकरणेऽपि सन्धित्वमुपचर्येति समाधेयम्।

From an early period, however, the Sandhi of case-terminations was regarded as a separate category as is clear from the Tolkappiyam, and so in the Rūpāvatāra, Prakriyā Kaumudí, Siddhānta Kaumudí and works of this type we find a separate section entitled Svādi Sandhi.

The Rūpāvatāra regards the insertion of *t* before *ch* in words like *pariccheda* as a separate variety and mentions six varieties of Sandhi:

तुक् स्वरः प्रकृतिश्चैव व्यञ्जनश्च ततः परम्।
ततो विसर्जनीयश्च स्वादिः षट्सन्धिरुच्यते॥

The ancient classification into lopa, āgama, vikāra and prakṛtibhāva (p. 142 f.n.)—a classification found also in Tolkappiyam, a very early treatise on Tamil grammar, would appear to be quite satisfactory.

In general, however, writers on grammar are anxious to have five varieties of Sandhi, because of the well-known Pañca Sandhi of Dramaturgy.

RP. has a special name for each of the various classes of Sandhi. These names remind one of the different varieties of Upamā (*e.g.*, Ācikhyāsopamā, Mohopamā, etc.) found in Daṇḍin's Kāvyādarśa.

The combination of vowels with consonants is known as "**Anvakṣara-Sandhi**" *i.e.*, combination according to the succession of letters. When vowels precede and consonants follow the "**Anvakṣara-Sandhi**" is "**Anuloma**", *i.e.*, in the natural order. When consonants precede and vowels follow the "**Anvakṣara-Sandhi**" is "**Pratiloma**", *i.e.*, in the reverse order.

RP. mentions three cases of Anuloma Anvakṣara-sandhi:

(i) vowels followed by consonants (ii. 8),

(ii) *eṣah*, *syah* and *sah* followed by consonants, the visarjanīya of *eṣah*, *syah* and *sah* being dropped (ii. 8),

(iii) *im* followed by consonants, the *m* of *im* being dropped (iv. 83).

Of Pratiloma Anvakṣara-sandhi only one case is specially mentioned: the first letter of any varga is changed into the corresponding third letter, when vowels follow (ii. 9-10).

एष स्य स च स्वराश्च पूर्वं
भवन्ति व्यञ्जनमुत्तरं यदेभ्यः ।
तेऽन्वक्षरसन्धयोऽनुलोमाः
प्रतिलोमास्तु विपर्ययेत एव ॥
तत्र प्रथमास्तृतीयभावं
प्रतिलोमेषु नियन्त्यथेतरेषु ।
ऊष्मा परिलुप्यते त्रयाणां
स्वरवर्जं न तु यत्र तानि मद्या ॥ २।८-१२

ईमित्यन्तलोप एषूदग्रेषु
गर्भं गावो वत्सं मृजन्ति पृच्यते ।
सखायो विव्याच पुना रिणन्ति
रथमित्यन्वक्षरसन्धिरेव सः ॥ ४।८३

The Anvakṣara-sandhi-vaktra or Anvakṣara-vaktra-sandhi and Śauddhākṣara Sandhi may be mentioned in this connexion. When a visarjanīya followed by a sibilant followed by an aghoṣa is dropped, the Sandhi is known as *Anvakṣara-sandhi-vaktra* (iv. 37). The commentator Uvaṭa points out that the real name is Anvakṣara-vaktra-sandhi, the positions

of 'sandhi' and 'vaktra' being reversed owing to the exigencies of metre.*

ऊष्मण्यघोषोदये लुप्यते परे
नतेऽपि सोऽन्वक्षरसन्धिवक्त्रः। ४।३६-३७

स सन्धिरन्वक्षरवक्त्रसंज्ञो वेदितव्यः। भिन्नक्रमः सन्धिशब्दो द्रष्टव्यः*। उवटः।

It will be noticed that when the visarjanīya of 'eṣah', 'syah' and 'sah' is dropped before a consonant the euphonic combination is known as Anvakṣara Sandhi, but when the visarjanīya is dropped before a sibilant followed by an aghoṣa, the sandhi is known as Anvakṣara-sandhi-vaktra, because it is "anvakṣara sandhi" in the first stage only ("anvakṣara-sandhi-vaktra" meaning "āmukhe anvakṣara-sandhi").

The insertion of a sibilant or *r* in certain words is known as **Śauddhākṣara Sandhi**. RP. mentions four cases:

(i) the insertion of *ś* between words like *puru*, *pṛthu*, *adhi* and *candra* (iv. 84);

(ii) the insertion of *ṣ* in words like *pariṣkṛṇvan*, *pariṣkṛṇvanti* etc. (iv. 85, 87);

(iii) the insertion of *s* in the aorist form *askṛta* in "askṛtoṣasam" RV. x. 127. 3 (iv. 88);

(iv) the insertion of *ṛ* between *vana* and *sada* (iv. 86).

पुरुपृथ्वधिपूर्वेषु शकार उपजायते।
ह्रस्वे च पूर्वपद्यान्ते चन्द्रशब्दे परेऽन्तरा॥
परीति पद्ये कृपरे षकारो
वनेति रेफः सदशब्द उत्तरे।

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*Similarly the Padamañjarī says under Kāśikā vii. i. 18: द्वित्वे विद्याद् वर्णनिर्देशमात्रमिति। वर्णमात्रनिर्देश इति विवक्षितम्। वृत्तभङ्गभयात्त्वस्थाने मात्रशब्दः प्रयुक्तः।

परिष्कृण्वन्ति वेधसोऽस्कृतोपसं
शौद्धाक्षराः सन्धय एत उक्ताः ॥ ४।८४-८९

Śauddhākṣara Sandhi is so called because it is concerned with the insertion of a single letter (*śuddha akṣara*). It cannot be said that the name is due to the fact that in this particular variety of Sandhi the original *letters* ("akṣara") remain *unaltered* ("śuddha"), only a new letter being inserted, for in the case of 'vanarṣad' the intrusive *r* changes the dental sibilant into the corresponding cerebral. It will be noticed that the Prātiśākhya deals first of all with the insertion of *ś*, the instances of which are more numerous that all the cases of the insertion of *ṣ*, *s* and *r* taken together and the word "śauddhākṣara" also begins with *ś*. The āgama in the case of Śauddhākṣara Sandhi is referred to twice in RP.:

शौद्धाक्षरागमोऽपैति । १०।२१
नुदेच्च शौद्धाक्षरसन्ध्यमागमम् । ११।४३

The name "śauddhākṣara" may be explained in another way also. In the case of "ānpada etc." also *r* and *s* come in, but in those cases the previous vowel is nasalized; in the case of Śauddhākṣara Sandhi, however, there is no nasalization. The word "śuddha" is used in CA. iv. 121 *anunāsikaḥ pūrvaś ca śuddhaḥ* in the sense of 'free from nasalization'. And we learn from the Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa (xi. 5, xiv. 3) that when Praṇava was pronounced without the nasal element, it was known as "śuddha".

Śauddhākṣara Sandhi has to be clearly distinguished from "antahpāta sandhi". The former is concerned with an intrusive sibilant or *r*, whereas the latter is concerned with the development of certain glide sounds.

Philologically the *ś* that is inserted before the word

'candra' was once a part and parcel of the word whose earlier form was 'ścandra'. The initial sibilant of the conjunct was dropped for ease of utterance, as in the case of 'tāyu' for 'stāyu', 'tarí' for 'starí' etc. But archaic forms are often preserved in proverbs and compounds, so we find the fuller form in 'suścandra', 'puruścandra' etc. Similarly 'vana' had an old collateral form 'van', the genitive singular of which appears in the Vedic compounds 'vanar-ṣad' and 'vanar-gu' and in the common classical compound 'vanaspati' and the derivative 'vānara'. The intrusive *s* in the case of forms of the root *kṛ* is due to the analogy of words like 'niṣkṛta', 'duṣkṛta' etc.

The combination of vowels with vowels is known as "svara sandhi". It has many varieties, the most important being the Praśliṣliṣṭa. The word "praśliṣṭa" is the past participle passive of the root *śliṣ* (the later form of *śriṣ*) 'to clasp' preceded by the upasarga *pra* 'forward, forth' and means 'clasped, entwined', thence 'coalescent'. Hence in RP. **Praśliṣṭa Sandhi** is the name for

(i) contraction of simple vowels, short or long, into the corresponding long vowels (ii. 15);

(ii) coalescence of *a* and *ā* with the simple vowels *i* (short or long) and *u* (short or long) to the Guṇa vowels *e* and *o* respectively (ii. 16-17);

(iii) coalescence of *a* and *ā* with the Guṇa vowels *e* and *o* to the Vṛddhi vowels *ai* and *au* respectively (ii. 18-19);

(iv) absorption of *a* and *ā* by the Vṛddhi vowels *ai* and *au* (ii. 18-19).

समानाक्षरे सस्थाने दीर्घमेकमुभे स्वरम् ।
इकारोदय एकारमकारः सोदयस्तथा ॥
उकारोदय ओकारं परेष्वैकारमोजयोः ।

औकारं युग्मयोरेते प्रश्लिष्टा नाम सन्धयः ॥ २।१५-२०

इवर्ण उभयतोह्रस्वः प्रश्लिष्टः । वा प्रा १।११६

ऊभावे प्रश्लिष्टः । तै प्रा २३।५

इकारयोः प्राश्लिष्टः । चतुरध्यायिका ३।५६

The word "praśleṣa" is used in the sense of contraction in "ikārayoś ca praśleṣe" RP. iii. 13. Other Prātiśākhyas denote the svarita resulting from the contraction of two 'i's by the term Praśliṣṭa (VP. i. 116, TP. xx. 6). CA. (iii. 56) uses the word 'prāśliṣṭa' formed from *praśliṣṭa* with the suffix *aṇ* in the sense of 'relating to, pertaining to, resulting from'. Evidently it regards the sandhi as "praśliṣṭa" and the svarita resulting from this sandhi as "prāśliṣṭa."

"Praśleṣa" is used in the sense of Praśliṣṭa Sandhi in VP. v. 33: *prâgnibhyām anindhau praśleṣe*, 'there is no avagraha in the case of Praśliṣṭa Sandhi with *pra* and *agni* with the exception of the root *indh*'.

"Praśliṣṭa" occurs in both the senses of 'contraction' and 'coalescence' in the Mahābhāṣya:

उकारोऽप्यत्र निर्दिश्यते । कथमऽप्रश्लिष्टनिर्देशोऽयम् । उ ऊक ऊक । महाभाष्य २।३।६९

चङङोः प्रश्लिष्टनिर्देशात् सिद्धम् । प्रश्लिष्टनिर्देशोऽयम् । च अङ् चङ् । अ अङ् अङ् । महाभाष्य ३।१।४४

प्रश्लिष्टनिर्देशोऽयम् अ अ अ इति । महाभाष्य ५।३।८

एवमप्यवर्णस्य एङोश्च सवर्णसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति । प्रश्लिष्टावर्णावेतौ । महाभाष्य १।१।९

नात्र भागविवेकोऽस्ति पांसूदकवदित्यर्थः । प्रश्लिष्टावित्यस्य प्रकर्षेण श्लिष्टौ मिलितावित्यर्थः । कैयटः ।

Praślisṭa is used of consonants in the following stanza quoted in the commentary on CA. (i. 39):

ऋवर्णे च ऋवर्णे लः प्रश्लिष्टश्च यदा भवेत्।
ऌ ॡ इति तदिच्छन्ति प्रयोगं तद्विदो जनाः॥

Similarly we find in the Siddhānta Kaumudī:

'वान्त' इत्यत्र वकाराद् 'गोर्यूतौ' इत्यत्र छकाराद्वा पूर्वभागे "लोपो व्योर्वलि" इति लोपेन वकारः प्रश्लिष्यते। ६३

The name of the Figure of Speech "Sleṣa" would appear to be derived from this use of Praśleṣa.

The next variety of vowel-sandhi is known as **Kṣaipra**. The word is derived from *kṣipra* 'quick' and means 'produced by speaking quickly'. In RP. it refers to the change of vowels into semi-vowels before dissimilar vowels (ii. 21-23). In all the Prātiśākhyas the svarita resulting from such combinations is also known as "kṣaipra".

समानाक्षरमन्तःस्थां स्वामकण्ठ्यं स्वरोदयम्।
न समानाक्षरे स्वे स्वे ते क्षैप्राः प्राकृतोदयाः॥ २।२१-२३

The change of *o* and *au* to *av* and *āv* respectively before a non-labial vowel is known as **Bhugna Sandhi.** "Bhugna" (from *bhujati* 'to bend, twist') means 'bent, twisted, made curved, distorted' and is applied to this class of sandhi because the *o* is here regarded as having been bent or distorted into *av*.

ओष्ठ्योन्योर्भुग्नमनोष्ठ्ये वकारोऽत्रान्तरागमः। २।३१

The elision of *a* after final *e* and *o* is known as **Abhinihita Sandhi.** The root *dhā* preceded by the upasargas *abhi* and *ni* means 'to place upon or into something adjacent', hence "abhinihita" means 'put into something adjacent'. Thus when one sound is put into an immediately preceding or following sound and is either wholly merged

in it or loses much of its individuality, the phenomenon is known as Abhinihita Sandhi. In the other Prātiśākhyas the term 'abhinihita' is used to denote the svarita resulting from Abhinihita Sandhi.

अथाभिनिहितः सन्धिरेतैः प्राकृतवैकृतैः ।
एकीभवति पादादिरकारस्तेऽत्र सन्धिजाः ॥ २।३४

The Abhinihita Svarita is known as Abhinihata in TP. xx. 4. This may be merely an 'artificial variation' as Whitney is inclined to think (TP. xx. 4, CA. iii. 55). Or the name "abhinihata" which means literally 'struck down' may be due to the fact that the following vowel is elided or 'killed'.

It may be mentioned in this connexion that the noun 'abhinidhāna' is used in much the same sense in the Prātiśākhyas. RP. says:

अभिनिधानं कृतसंहितानां
स्पर्शान्तस्थानामुपवाद्य रेफम् ।
सन्धारणं संवरणं श्रुतेश्च
स्पर्शोदयानाम् ॥ ६।१७

'Abhinidhāna consists in the repressing and obscuring of a sound, and takes place in the case of mutes and semi-vowels except *r*, when they are followed by mutes and have already undergone euphonic combination.'

CA. says: *vyañjana-vidhāraṇam abhinidhānah pīḍitah sannataro hīna-śvāsa-nādah*, 'the holding apart of a consonant is Abhinidhāna; it is pressed, quite weakened and lacking in breath and voice'.

In TP. Abhinidhāna is the name given to the first letter of a varga which is inserted after a surd spirant when it is followed by a mute. Here also the name implies that its articulation is imperfect.

Abhinidhāna is known as Āsthāpita in CA. (i.48) and Bhakṣya or Bhukta in the Cārāyaṇíya Śikṣā (viii).

Now we come to hiatus or ***Vivṛtti***. The word Vivṛtti is derived from *vi-vṛt* 'to fly in different directions' and means 'the opening of two vowels upon each other without blending, hiatus'.

स्वरान्तरं तु विवृत्तिः । ऋ प्रा २।३
द्वयोस्तु स्वरयोर्मध्ये सन्धिर्यत्र न दृश्यते ।
विवृत्तिस्तत्र विज्ञेया य ईशेति निदर्शनम् ॥
याज्ञवल्क्यशिक्षा ९४

Several Śikṣā-treatises divide Vivṛtti into four classes: (i) Where both the vowels are short, the Vivṛtti is known as Pākavatí 'possessed of young ones'; (ii) where both are long, the Vivṛtti is known as Pipílikā* 'ant'; (iii) where the first is long and the second short, the Vivṛtti is known as Vatsānusāriṇi 'following the calf'; (iv) where the first is short and the second long, the Vivṛtti is known as Vatsānusṛtā 'followed by the calf' (Māṇḍukí Śikṣā, 92-96, Nāradíya Śikṣā ii. 3. 1-2, Yājñavalkya Śikṣā ii. 10-12).

When one of the vowels is long the Vivṛtti is Dírgha according to RP. (ii. 79). So Pipílikā, Vatsānusāriṇí and Vatsānusṛtā will all come under **Dírgha Vivṛtti**.

"Vivṛtti" is used also in the same sense in VP. vii. 6: *hrasva-kaṇṭhyopadhaṃ visarjaníyānitam ariphitaṃ vivṛttyā.*

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*In exactly the same way a stanza in which a verse of eight syllables comes between two verses of twelve syllables each is known as Pipílika-madhyamā Anuṣṭup. Similarly a stanza in which a verse of six syllables comes between two verses of eleven syllables each is known as Pipílika-madhyā Uṣṇih. Again a stanza in which a verse of eight syllables comes between two verses of thirteen syllables each is known as Pipílika-madhyamā Bṛhatí.

यतो दीर्घस्ततो दीर्घा विवृत्तयः। २।७९

When there are two consecutive hiatuses *i.e.*, there is a hiatus on each side of an intermediate vowel, as in "tasmā u adya "RV. viii.66.7, the hiatus is known as **Dvi-ṣandhi*** **Vivṛtti** according to RP. (ii.80).

द्विषन्धयस्तूभयतःस्वरस्वराः। २।८०

Internal hiatus (i.e., hiatus in the same word, simple or compound) is known as **Antah-pada Vivṛtti** or inter-word hiatus (ii.13). RP. enumerates four cases:

पुरएता तितउना प्रउगं नमउक्तिभिः। अन्तःपदं विवृत्तयः। २।१३

When *āh*, *ai*, or *au* is changed into *ā* before vowels, the sandhi is known as **Padavṛtti** 'hiatus between words', and the svarita arising from such sandhi is known as **Pādavṛtta** in the later Prātiśākhyas. In RP. this accent is known as **Vaivṛtta** (iii. 18). It is clear, therefore, that in Padavṛtti and Pādavṛtta 'vṛtti' and 'vṛtta' stand for 'vivṛtti' and 'vivṛtta' respectively.

विसर्जनीयोऽरिफितो दीर्घपूर्वः स्वरोदयः।
आकारमुत्तमौ च द्वौ स्वरौ ताः पदवृत्तयः॥

When *ah*, *e*, or *o* is changed into *a* before vowels, the sandhi is known as **Udgrāha** (ii. 29). The word "udgrāha" is derived from *ud-grah* with the suffix *ghañ* according to Pāṇini's rule "udi grahah" iii.3.35 and means 'taking out, drawing out, intercepting'. The term "udgrāha" is used as a designation for these varieties of sandhi, because the

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*In AB. iv.9 we find 'dvi-ṣandhi' and 'tri-ṣandhi' with the cerebral ṣ, but 'catuh-sandhi' with the dental. In the Suṣāmādi group of Pāṇini (viii.3.98) these are all conspicuous by their absence, though 'su-ṣandhi', 'duh-ṣandhi' and 'ni-ṣandhi' are met with.

visarjanīya in the one case and the vowels in the two other cases (*e* and *o* being regarded as Sandhyakṣara of *a i* and *a u* respectively) have been taken out.

ह्रस्वपूर्वस्तु सोऽकारं पूर्वौ चोपोत्तमात् स्वरौ । त उद्ग्राहाः । २।२७-२९

When Udgrāha and Padavṛtti are combined, *i.e.*, when *ah*, *e*, or *o* becomes *a* before a long vowel, the sandhi is known as **Udgrāha Padavṛtti** (ii.30).

दीर्घपरा उद्ग्राहपदवृत्तयः ॥ २।३०

When *a* or *ā* followed by *ṛ* becomes *a ṛ*, the sandhi is known as **Udgrāhavat** (ii. 30), because here also there is hiatus between *a* and a short vowel and there is the intercepting of the *a* of *ā*.

ऋकार उदये कण्ठ्यावकारं तदुद्ग्राहवत् २।३२

The Udgrāhavat Sandhi would appear to be designated Upadruta in the Śān·khāyana Śrauta Sūtra in the following passage:

तद् यत्रोपद्रुतम् अभिनिहितं प्रश्लिष्टं क्षिप्रसन्धिरिति न्यूङ्खनीयस्य पादस्यादौ स्याद् उपातीत्य तद् द्वितीयेऽक्षरे न्यूङ्खयेच्छ्वा न्वो ३ इति यथा, क्व स्यो ३ इति च । १२।१३।५

'Where there is Upadruta, Abhinihita, Praślisṭa or Kṣipra-sandhi at the beginning of the pāda in which *o* is to be said, that should be skipped and the *o* said in the second syllable as in the case of "śvā no 3" and of "kva syo 3".

The commentator says:

उपद्रुतो नाम सन्धिर्वाष्कलानां प्रसिद्धः, तस्योदाहरणं—न ऋते श्रान्तस्य सखाय देवाः इति ।

Cases of the absence of the Abhinihita Sandhi are divided into two classes *viz.*, Prācya Padavṛtti and Pañcāla Padavṛtti (ii.33). When initial *a* remains unchanged after

final *e*, we have **Prācya Padavṛtti.** When initial *a* remains unchanged after final *o* or final *ah* changed into *o*, we have Pañcāla Padavṛtti. The names are significant, for we find *ah* changed into *e* in the Eastern Prakrits and into *o* in the Midland Prakrits.

उद्ग्राहाणां पूर्वरूपाण्यकारे
प्रकृत्या द्वे ओ भवत्येकमाद्यम् ।
प्राच्यपञ्चालपदवृत्तयस्ताः
पञ्चालानामोष्ठ्यपूर्वा भवन्ति ॥ २।३३

The name Pañcāla Padavṛtti is also found in the Śān·khāyana Śrauta Sūtra: 'Where there is the hiatus known as Pañcāla Padavṛtti, the suffix is to be subjected to Nyūn·kha.'

अथ यत्र पञ्चालपदवृत्तिः स्याद् विवृत्तिः प्रत्यये न्यूङ्खयेन्नो ३ ओ ३ इति । १२।१३।६

अथ यत्र स्यादिति ब्रुवन् क्वचिच्छाखान्तरे पञ्चालपदवृत्त्याख्या विवृत्तिर्नास्तीति दर्शितम् । भाष्यम् ।

A hiatus in which the preceding sound is a Pragṛhya vowel is known as **Pragṛhítapadā Saṃhitā** or Vivṛtti (RP. ii. 54).

प्रकृत्येतिकरणादौ प्रगृह्याः
स्वरेषु चार्ष्यां प्रथमो यथोक्तम् ।
सहोदयास्ताः प्रगृहीतपदाः । २।५१-५४

A hiatus in which the preceding vowel is lengthened is known as **Plutopadhā Vivṛtti** (RP. ii. 67).

A hiatus in which the preceding vowel is nasalized is known as **Anunāsikopadhā Vivṛtti** (RP. ii. 67).

When final *ān* becomes nasalized *ā* before a vowel, the phenomenon is known as **Anpadā Padavṛtti**, i.e., hiatus

between two words with reference to a word with final *ān* (RP. iv. 67). In CA. iv. 74 *ānpadā* or *ānpada* is used in the same sense.

When final *ān* is changed into nasalized *ā* before a semi-vowel, the phenomenon is known as **Vivṛttyabhiprāya** or apparent hiatus (RP. iv. 68).

Metrical lengthening of vowels is known as **Sāma-vaśa Sandhi** (RP. viii. 1). According to Uvaṭa "Sāma-vaśa" means 'serving for or caused by the equality of the metre'. It may, however, also mean 'caused by the necessities of Sāman', because when a Ṛk. has to be changed into a Sāman such lengthenings have often to be resorted to.

RP. itself says:

सामवशा इति चैवापवादान्
कुर्वन्ति ये सम्पदं पादवृत्तयोः ॥ १।६०

"The Sāmavaśa Sandhis which bestow prosperity on verse and metre are to be regarded as exceptions (to Anuloma Anvakṣara Sandhi)."

Uvaṭa explains:

अन्वर्थसंज्ञा चेयम्। समस्य भावः साम्म्। प्राणभृज्जातिवयोवचनोद्गात्रादिभ्योऽञ् [५।१।१२९] इत्युद्गात्रादित्वादञ्। छन्दसां समत्वं वशं प्रयोजनं येषामन्वक्षरसन्धीनां ते सामवशाः सन्धयः।

Sama, however, is not read either in the Udgātrādi group or in the Yuvādi group. Even such a late work as the Gaṇaratna-mahodadhi does not mention "sama" in its Yuvādi group. Nor are the Gaṇas regarded as Ākṛti-gaṇas. So it is preferable to derive the word from "sama-vaśa" with the adjectival suffix aṇ, "sama" in *sama-vaśa* being taken in the sense of 'sāmya' or 'samatva' ("bhāva-pradhāno nirdeśah"). The word "sāma-vaśa"

would, however, appear to be a compound of the two words "Sāman" and "vaśa" meaning 'due to the exigencies of Sāman or chants'.

Next we come to Āsthāpita Sandhi. The combination of a mute with a consonant is known as Āsthāpita. The word "āsthāpita" is the past participle passive of *ā-sthā* and means literally 'made to stand by, arrested'. The Āsthāpita has two varieties—Avaśan·gama and Vaśan·gama. Where a mute followed by a consonant remains unchanged we have **Avaśan·gama Āsthāpita**, i.e., an unyielding or unsubmissive Āsthāpita (iv. 1). When of the mute or the following consonant either or both undergo some change the sandhi is known as **Vaśan·gama**, i.e., 'influenced or yielding' **Āsthāpita**. The following cases of **Vaśan·gama Āsthāpita** are mentioned:

(1) Unaspirate breath consonants followed by voiced consonants become changed into the corresponding voiced consonants (iv. 2);

(2) Unaspirate breath consonants followed by nasals become nasals (iv. 3);

(3) *ś* preceded by an unaspirate breath consonant is changed into *ch* (iv. 4);

(4) *h* preceded by a final breath consonant changed into the corresponding voiced consonant becomes the corresponding aspirate (iv. 5);

(5) *m* followed by a dissimilar mute is changed into the nasal of the following letter (iv. 6);

(6) *m* followed by an initial *y*, *v* or *l* is changed into *y*, *v* or *l* (iv. 7);

(7) *n* followed by *l* is changed into *l* (iv. 8);

(8) *n* followed by *ś* or a palatal mute is changed into *ñ* (iv. 9);

(9) *t* followed by *j* or *l* is changed into *j* or *l* (iv. 10);

(10) *t* followed by *c*, *ch* or *ś* is changed into *c* (iv. 11);

(11) *ś* following *ñ* or *c* which are the substitutes of *n* or *t*, is changed into *ch* (iv. 12).

स्पर्शाः पूर्वं व्यञ्जनान्युत्तरा-
ण्यास्थापितानामवशङ्गमं तत् ।
घोषवत्पराः प्रथमास्तृतीयान्
स्वानुत्तमानुत्तमेषूदयेषु ।
सर्वैः प्रथमैरुपधीयमानः
शकारः शाकल्यपितुश्छकारम् ।
पदान्तैस्तैरेव तृतीयभूतै-
स्तेषां चतुर्थानुदयो हकारः ।
विस्थाने स्पर्श उदये मकारः
सर्वेषामेवोदयस्योत्तमं स्वम् ।
अन्तःस्थासु रेफवर्जं परासु
तां तां पदादिष्वनुनासिकां तु ॥
तथा नकार उदये लकारे
ञकारं शकार-चकारवर्गयोः ।
तकारो जकार-लकारयोस्तौ
तालव्येऽघोष उदये चकारम् ॥
छकारं तयोरुदयः शकारो
न शाकल्यस्य ता वशङ्गमानि । ४।१-१४

न ह्यत्रापरिणतानि व्यञ्जनानि संयोगं गच्छन्ति, अतो वशङ्गमानी-त्युच्यन्ते । उवटः ।

When *m* is followed by *r* or a sibilant, it is changed into anusvāra. This sandhi is known as **Paripanna** from *pari* 'around, fully' and *pad* 'to fall, sink down, perish'

(iv. 15). In RP. xiv. 37 "paripādayanti" is used in the sense of 'cause the change of *m* into anusvāra'. The word "paripāda" is read in the "nirudakādi" group (vi. 2. 184) in Pāṇini.

रेफोष्मणोरुदययोर्मकारोऽनुस्वारं तत् परिपन्नमाहुः ।

In RP. the "paripanna" is not regarded as a case of Vaśan-gama Sandhi, but Uvaṭa, the commentator, holds that it should certainly be so regarded. RP. evidently regards the Anusvāra Sandhi like the Uṣma Sandhi as a class apart.

रेफे चोष्मणि चोदयभूते मकारोऽनुस्वारमापद्यते । तत् सन्धानं परिपन्नमाहुराचार्याः । वशङ्गमस्यैव द्वितीया संज्ञा कार्यार्था कृता—"सेति चास्य परिपन्नोपधा चेत्" (५।२५), "परिपन्नं प्राकृतमूष्मसन्धिम्" (१५।१२) इत्यादिना । "वशङ्गमानी"त्यस्याप्यत्र योगो युक्तरूपः । छन्दोभङ्गभयादधस्तादुक्तः । उवटः ।

The development of glides into fully audible sounds is known as **Antahpāta** (lit. 'coming in between'). Three cases are mentioned in RP:

(i) the insertion of *k* between final *n* and breath consonants or sibilants (iv. 16);

(ii) The insertion *t* between final *ṭ* and *s*, and final *n* and *s* (iv. 17);

(ii) The insertion of *c* between final *ñ* and *ś* (iv. 18);

ङकारेऽघोषोष्मपरेऽन्तरैके
ककारं टकार-नकारयोस्तु ।
आहुः सकारोदययोस्तकारं
ञकारे शकारपरे चकारम् ॥
तेऽन्तःपाताः । ४।१६-१९

Now we come to Visarjanīya Sandhi.

The elision of Visarjanīya after *ā* before a voiced conso-

nant (iv. 17) or the elision of a rhotacised Visarjanīya before *r* along with the lengthening of the preceding vowel (iv. 29) is known as **Niyata** which means literally 'restrained or suppressed'. These Sandhis are called Niyata because the Visarjanīya is suppressed in these cases.

विसर्जनीय आकारमरेफी घोषवत्परः ।
ओकारं ह्रस्वपूर्वस्तौ सन्धी नियतप्रश्रितौ ॥ ४।२४-२६

Change of Visarjanīya to *r* before vowels and voiced consonants is known as **Repha Sandhi** (iv. 27).

When a Visarjanīya (after a long vowel) is dropped before *r*, the sandhi is known as **Akāma** or reluctant, because people are unwilling to pronounce two *r*'s consecutively (iv. 28).

When *ah* is changed into o before voiced consonants, the sandhi is known as **Praśrita** 'bent forward' (iv. 25).

सर्वोपधस्तु स्वरघोषवत्परो
रेफं रेफी ते पुना रेफसन्धयः ।
रेफोदयो लुप्यते द्राघितोपधा
ह्रस्वस्याकामनियतावुभाविमौ ॥ ४।२७-३०

When Visarjanīya is changed into Upadhmānīya, Jihvāmūlīya or a sibilant, the euphonic combination is known as **Vyāpanna Uṣma Sandhi** (iv. 31-35), from Vyāpanna (past participle of *vi-ā-pad*) 'changed'; when however, the Visarjanīya remains intact before *k*, *kh*, *p*, *ph* or a sibilant, the euphonic combination is known as **Vikrānta Uṣma Sandhi** (iv. 35) from 'vikrānta' (past participle of *vi-kram*) 'passed over'. See p. 169, bottom.

अघोषे रेफ्यरेफी चोष्माणं स्पर्श उत्तरे ।
तत्सस्थानमनूष्मपरे तमेवोष्माणमूष्मणि ॥

प्रथमोत्तमवर्गीये स्पर्शे वोष्मणि चानते ।
व्यापन्न ऊष्मसन्धिः स विक्रान्तः प्राकृतोपधः ॥ ४।३२-३६

The change of Visarjanīya into *s* or *ṣ* before *k* or *p* is known as **Upācarita Sandhi** (iv. 41). Upācāra is used in this sense in RP. xiii. 31, CA. iv. 74 and Māṇḍūkī Śikṣā 108.

यथादिष्टं नामिपूर्वः षकारं
सकारमन्योऽरिफितः ककारे ।
पकारे च प्रत्ययेऽन्तःपदं तु
सर्वत्रैवोपाचरितः स सन्धिः ॥

Later on the word became Upacāra with the shortening of the second syllable, just as Sanskrit *upādhāna* 'pillow' became *upadhāna* in Bengali. Thus we find in the Vārttikas:

अव्ययीभावे प्रयोजनं लुङ्मुखस्वरोपचाराः १।१।४१।१
प्रत्ययग्रहणोपचारेषु ४।१।१।७

On this the Kāśikā says:

विसर्जनीयस्थानिकस्य सकारस्योपचार इति संज्ञा ।

Bhaṭṭoji in his Śabdakaustubha i.1.47 follows Jayāditya and says:

विसर्गस्थानिकस्य सकारस्योपचार इति प्राचां संज्ञा ।

It will be noticed that the explantion is good so far as it goes, but it does not go far enough. In the Kāśikā on viii.3.48 Vāmana says:

अविहितलक्षण उपचारः कस्कादिषु द्रष्टव्यः ।

Here Vāmana regards both *s* and *ṣ* as Upacāra. The Nyāsa explains:

विसर्जनीयस्थानिकयोः सकार-षकारयोरुपचार इत्येषा संज्ञा विहिता ।

The Upalekha-sūtra gives the correct explanation:

ऊष्मा पकारः सकारो वा कपपर उपाचार-संज्ञकस्तस्य लोपः परिग्रहे ।
५।६

Cases of tmesis in RV. are known as **Anānupūrvyā Saṃhitā** or Saṃhitā not following the proper order (ii.78). Thus *cit* intervenes between *śunaḥ* and *śepam* in "śunaś cic chepaṃ niditaṃ sahasrāt" RV. v.2.7, *vā* and *ca* between *narā* and *śaṃsam* in "narā vā śaṃsam pūṣaṇam agohyam" RV. x.64.3 and "narā ca śaṃsaṃ daivyam" ix.86.42.

शुनश्चिच्छेपं निदितं नरा वां शंसं पूषणम् ।
नरा च शंसं दैव्यं ता अनानुपूर्व्यसंहिताः ॥ २।७८

We may in this connexion compare BD. ii.100:

विप्रकृष्टं च सन्दध्यादानुपूर्वीं च कल्पयेत् ।

"And one that is far removed one should bring into juxtaposition, and should (then) arrange the regular sequence (of the words)."

When final *n* after vowels except *a* and *ā* is changed into *r* along with the nasalization of the preceding vowel as in दस्यूँरेकः, नृँरभि etc., the sandhi is known as **Sparśa-repha Sandhi,** because here *r* is the substitute for a (nasal) mute (iv. 72).

Similarly when final *n* is changed into *s* and the preceding vowel nasalized before *t*, *th* etc., the Sandhi is known as **Sparśoṣma Sandhi** because the mute (sparśa) is changed into the sibilant *s* (Uṣman) (iv. 77).

एकत्र स्पर्श एकत्रोष्मा इत्यन्वर्थसंज्ञा । उवटः ।

When final *n* is changed into visarjanīya and the preceding vowel nasalized, the Sandhi is known as **Vikrānta**, because this visarjanīya does not undergo any further change.

नॄः पतिभ्यो नॄः प्रणेत्रं नॄः पात्रं स्वतवाँः पायुः ।
सन्धि-विक्रान्त एवैषः ॥ ४।७८

The change of a dental into the cerebral is known as **Nati**. The word literally means 'yielding, surrendering, giving up some of one's own characteristics and taking on some of those of others'. It may be paraphrased by "vaitasí vṛtti", or in the words of Kalidāsa "vetasa-līlā-viḍambana". So when a dental loses its dental character and becomes a cerebral we have a case of Nati or Vināma which means much the same thing. It may be objected: why is the change of a dental into a palatal or into *l* not called Nati? To this our reply would be: no separate name is necessary for those phenomena, because they do not attract much attention, but the conversion of the dental *s* and *n* into the corresponding cerebral sounds is a prominent feature of Sanskrit Grammar and demands a separate designation. The alterant letter is known as Nantṛ and the letter that undergoes the alteration as Namya.

We cannot explain the word "nati" with reference to the position of the vocal organs because a cerebral is pronounced higher up the mouth than a dental.

एषा नतिर्दन्त्यभूर्धन्यभावः । ५।६१
पूर्वो नन्ता नतिषु नम्यमुत्तमम् । १।६६
दन्त्यस्य मूर्धन्यापत्तिर्नतिः । वा प्रा १।४२

CA. uses Vināma (iv. 34) for Nati. TP. does not use this technical term.

The reduplication of consonants is known as **Krama** or stride (vi.1):

स्वरानुस्वारोपहितो द्विरुच्यते
संयोगादिः स क्रमोऽविक्रमे सन् ।

The lengthening of a short vowel is known as **Pluti** or leap. The verbal form *plavate* is also used in the sense of 'undergoes lengthening'.

दीर्घं ह्रस्वो व्यञ्जनेऽन्यस्त्वृकाराद्
यथादिष्टं सामवशः स सन्धिः ।
सैव प्लुति र्या स्वरेषूपदिष्टा
योनिमारैगादिषु चोदयादेः ॥
मक्ष्वित्युकारः प्लवते सर्वत्राप्यपदान्तभाक् ॥ ७।१-५

PRAGRHYA AND PRAGRAHA.

"Pragṛhya" (from *pra-grah* 'to seize, grasp, tighten reins') means literally 'that which is to be restrained (from entering into sandhi combination with a following vowel)'. "Pragraha" literally means 'bridle, rein'. Hence in grammar "pragṛhya" refers to certain final vowels which are not combined acc. to the rules of sandhi with a following vowel. The word occurs in the Prātiśākhyas and Pāṇini. TP. uses "pragraha" for "pragṛhya". The Prātiśākhyas and Pāṇini give the name "pragṛhya" to certain final vowels and then lay down that they are not liable to changes acc. to the rules of sandhi. Later grammarians generally considered these two steps unnecessary and merely laid down that certain final vowels were not to be subjected to changes acc. to the laws of sandhi. In the Jainendra system the "pragṛhyas" are known as "di," doubtless from the "di" of "dvivacana"; cf. "ki" for the vocative singular. In Śak. most cases of pragṛhya are known as "git' (because they have an indicatory *g*).

ऋ प्रा। ओकार आमन्त्रितजः प्रगृह्यः। पदं चान्यः। अपूर्व-पदान्तगश्च। षष्ठादयश्च द्विवचोऽन्तभाजस्त्रयो दीर्घाः। साप्तमिकौ च पूर्वौ। अस्मे युष्मे त्वे अमी च प्रगृह्याः। उपोत्तमं नानुदात्तं न पद्यम्। उकारश्चेतिकरणेन युक्तो रक्तोऽप्रक्तो द्राघितः शाकलेन। १।६८-७५

प्रकृत्येतिकरणादौ प्रगृह्याः स्वरेषु चार्य्यचाम्। २।५१-५२

वा प्रा। प्रगृह्यम्। एकारेकारोकारा द्विवचनान्ताः। ओकारश्च पदान्तेऽनवग्रहः। उकारोऽप्रक्तः। चमू अस्मे त्वे। मे उदात्तम्। अमी पदम्। १।९२-९८

प्रगृह्यं स्वरे। ४।८८

तै प्रा। अथ प्रग्रहाः। नावग्रहः। ४।१-२। इतिपरोऽपि। ऊकारः। ओकारोऽसांहितोऽकारव्यञ्जनपरः। ४।४-६। अथैकारेकारौ। अस्मे। त्वे इत्यनिङ्ग्यान्तः। ४।८-१०…

न प्लुत-प्रग्रहौ। १०।२४

"It occupies here a good deal more space, because the Taitt. Pr. avoids on principle the mention of grammatical categories in its rules, and is at infinite pains to catalogue, word by word, what the other treatises dispose of summarily, by classes." Whitney on TP. iv. 1.

चतुरध्यायिका। उकारस्येतावप्रक्तस्य। दीर्घः प्रगृह्यश्च। ईकारो-कारौ च सप्तम्यर्थे। द्विवचनान्तौ। एकारश्च। अस्मे युष्मे त्वे मे इति चोदात्ताः। अमी बहुवचनम्। निपातोऽप्रक्तोऽनाकारः। ओकारान्तश्च। आमन्त्रितं चेतावनार्षे। १।७२-८१

प्रगृह्याश्च प्रकृत्या ३।३३

ऋत। सन्निकर्षः संहिता। न वृद्धं रे। दमु। ओभूतं च। आ णि। ६७-७१। द्व्यर्थे। ई न वपरे। अयवावे न्यूने। त्रो णि। ७४-७७। गो। न वा। ७९-८०। त्वे। ८२।

पा। ईदूदेद् द्विवचनं प्रगृह्यम्। अदसो मात्। शे। निपात

एकाजनाङ्। ओत्। सम्बुद्धौ शाकल्यस्येतावनार्षे। उञ ऊञ्। ईदूतौ च सप्तम्यर्थे। १।१।११-१८

प्लुतप्रगृह्या अचि नित्यम्। ६।१।१२५

का। एदन्ता अ इ उ आ निपाताः स्वरे प्रकृत्या। द्विवचनमनौ। वहुवचनममी। अनुपदिष्टाश्च। १।३।१-४

च। न प्लुतोऽनितौ। (प्लुतोऽनितावचि न सन्धीयते। वृत्तिः।) क्वचिद् वा। ईदूदेद् द्विवचनम्। अमू अमी। अजनाङः। ओत्। सौ वेतौ। उञ्। ऊँ। इकोऽसस्थाने ह्रस्वश्चासमासे। ऋद् लृत्यकः। ५।१।१२३-१३३

जै। ईदूदेद् द्वि र्दिः। द्यः। न्यजनाङ्। ओत्। कौ वेतौ। उञः। ऊँः। १।१।२१-२७ [पान्नानितौ।] देः। ४।३।१२०-१२१।

शा। न प्लुतस्यानितौ। गितः। चादेरचोऽनाङः। ओतः। सौ वेतौ। ऊँ चोञः। १।१।९९-१०४

हे। [वात्यसन्धिः।] प्लुतोऽनितौ। इ ३ वा। ईदूदेद् द्विवचनम्। अदो मुमी। चादिः स्वरोऽनाङ्। ओदन्तः। सौ नवेतौ। ऊँ चोञ्। १।२।३२-३९

स। [लुग्यादे र्न सन्धिः। लुग्वस्य। लुग्विसर्गस्य। १।३६०-३६२] द्विवचनसिद्धानामीदूदेताम्। अदसो मादिणः। अव्ययौत्केवलाचोरचि। आतः स्मृतिवाक्ययोः। प्लुतस्याचि। मणीवादेर्वा। इतौ सम्बुद्ध्योतः। ऋद्लृतोरको ह्रस्वश्च। १।३६४-३७१

मु। नाजोऽन्तोऽनाङ् निः प्लुश्च। व्यद्वेऽमीय्ये। स्योद्वतौ। उञ् णपात्त्वचि व वा। वेक् स्वश्चार्णेऽसे। ऋक्यक्। ४१-४६

सु। [न सन्धिर्विसर्गयवलोपे। १।२।२७] ईदूदेतो द्विवचनस्य। अदसो मात्। एकस्याचोऽनाङोऽव्ययस्य। ओतः। वा सम्बुद्धावितौ। उञ ऊँ च। दूरादाह्वाने। ईदूदाद्यसन्धिः प्रगृह्यम्। १।२।२९-३६

सा। नामी। य्ये द्वित्वे। उ निपातः। प्लुतः।

प्र। द्विवचनमीदूदे स्यात् सन्धिविरोधि स्वतः परत्रापि। ओदन्तास्तु निपाता अ इ उ आ च केवलास्तद्वत्। अदसो निष्पन्नं यदमीति पदम्। हे। प्लुताश्चैवम्। १।७९-८२। सम्बुद्धिसिद्धमोदन्तमितौ वा। १।८४

ह। [तेषां न सन्धिर्नित्यम्।] ओरामान्तानामनन्तानां चाव्ययानां सर्वेश्वरे। ईदूदेतां द्विवचनस्य मणीवादिवर्जम्। अदसोऽमीत्यस्य। महापुरुषस्य च। १।७०-७३ ओरामस्य बुद्धनिमित्तस्येतौ सन्धिर्वा। ईशस्यानेकात्मके वामनश्च वा। ऋद्वयाद्वययो ऋ ति १।९०-९२। उञः सन्ध्यभाव ऊं वश्चेतौ। १।९४

In the Bhaṭṭikāvya (vi. 62) the technical term Pragṛhya is used in a very happy simile in the following stanza:

प्रगृह्यपदवत् साध्वीं स्पष्टरूपामविक्रियाम्।
अगृह्यां वीतकामत्वाद् देवगृह्यामनिन्दिताम्॥

'(Rama and Lakṣmaṇa saw the Śabarí) as chaste as a word ending in a Pragṛhya vowel, of transparent form, free from all perturbation of mind, thoroughly independent because of absence of all desires, godly and irreproachable.'

Here the Śabarí is compared to a Pragṛhya word, because she did not mix with anybody. In Shakespeare's King Lear ii.2.68 we find "Thou whoreson zed, thou unnecessary letter," and in Love's Labour's Lost v. 2. 53 "Quis, quis, thou consonant".

The following extract will be read with interest in this connexion:

There are altogether eight groups, and the last of them consists of six gases,...all of them curiously alike—helium, neon, argon, krypton, xenon, and radium emanation. They are called the inert gases, because they cannot be got to combine with anything. The German chemists called them noble gases, because they refuse to have anything to do with

other elements inferior to themselves." Book of Knowledge, p. 4222.

AKSARA

'A-kṣara' literally means 'imperishable'. Then it came to mean 'that which does not admit of further analysis, element'. Hence when sentences were analysed into words, Akṣara meant a word. When the process of analysis was carried still further and words were split up into syllables, 'Akṣara' meant a syllable. When syllables were further sub-divided into letters Akṣara came to signify letter and vowel as the most imperishable element in language. (Cf. *atom* in chemistry. 'Atom' literally means uncut, indivisible, from *a* 'not' *tomos* 'cut'.)

In RV. i. 164. 39:

ऋचो अक्षरे परमे व्योमन् यस्मिन् देवा अधि विश्वे निषेदुः ।
यस्तन्न वेद किमृचा करिष्यति य इत्तद्विदुस्त इमे समासते ॥

'Who does not know the word of the Rk on which in the highest space all the gods have taken their seats—what will he do with the Rk? And those who know it here they seat together',

'Akṣara' means 'word' or 'syllable'.

In RV. i. 164. 24:

गायत्रेण प्रति मिमीते अर्कमर्केण साम त्रैष्टुभेन वाकम् ।
वाकेन वाकं द्विपदा चतुष्पदाक्षरेण मिमते सप्त वाणीः ॥

'With the Gāyatrī-foot he measures out the stanza of praise, with the stanza of praise the chant, with the Tṛṣṭubh-foot (the stanza of) speech, with the two-footed, four-footed stanza of speech the hymn. With the syllable

they measure out the seven voices (*i.e.* the voices of the seven priests or the seven metres)',

Akṣara signifies a syllable.

In ŚB vi. 1. 3. 6 akṣara is derived from the verb 'akṣarat' by popular etymology: yad akṣarat tasmād akṣaram.

In the Nighaṇṭu 'Akṣara' is given as a synonym of 'vāk' (speech)* and of 'udaka' (water).

AA. explains 'Akṣara' thus:

एष वा अक्षरम्, एष ह्येभ्यः सर्वेभ्यो भूतेभ्यः क्षरति, न चैनमतिक्षरन्ति। स यदेभ्यः सर्वेभ्यो भूतेभ्यः क्षरति, न चैनमतिक्षरन्ति, तस्मादक्षरम्। तस्मादक्षरमित्याचक्षत एतमेव सन्तम्। २।२।२

"He is syllable, for he pours forth gifts to all these beings and because none can pour forth gifts beyond him. Because he pours forth gifts for all those beings, and because none can pour forth gifts beyond him, therefore he is a syllable. Therefore they call him who is (prāṇa) a syllable."

The Mahābhāṣya explains a śloka-vārttika which gives several derivations of Akṣara thus:

अथ किमिदमक्षरमिति ?

अक्षरं न क्षरं विद्यात्।

न क्षीयते न क्षरतीति वाक्षरम्।

अश्नोते वा सरोऽक्षरम्।

अश्नोतेर्वायमौणादिकः सरन्-प्रत्ययः। अश्नुत इत्यक्षरम्।

वर्णं वाहुः पूर्वसूत्रे।

अथवा पूर्वसूत्रे वर्णस्याक्षरमिति संज्ञा क्रियते।

'Now what is this 'Akṣara'?

By 'akṣara' one is to understand what is not 'kṣara.' Or, that which does not decay, does not perish is 'Akṣara'. Or,

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* वाग् वै समुद्रः। न वै वाक् क्षीयते, न समुद्रः क्षीयते। ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण २३।१

ह। पूर्वो वामनः। परस्त्रिविक्रमः। त्रिमात्रो महापुरुषः॥
१।५-७

नाट्यशास्त्र। य इमे स्वराश्चतुर्दश निर्दिष्टास्तत्र वै दश समानाः।
पूर्वो ह्रस्वस्तेषां परश्च दीर्घो विधातव्यः॥ १४।२२-२३

GURU AND LAGHU

"Guru" is a very old word occurring in RV. in the sense of 'heavy'. In its technical sense it means 'a vowel long by nature or by position', a vowel which is long both by nature and by position is known as "Garíyah". In its technical sense Guru occurs first in RP. The opposite of "guru" is "laghu", the younger form of "raghu". "Laghu" literally means 'light' and is used of a vowel which is metrically short. A short vowel which stands alone without any consonant is known as "laghíyah". RT. and ST. use 'ghu' for 'laghu', *e.g.*, "yugmaṃ ghu" RT. 236. "u ghor ghuni ghoṣādih" 237. J. uses 'ru' for 'guru'. In the system of Pāṇini 'ru' represents a 'visarjanía which stands for an original *s*'. Śāk. uses "guru" and HN. has no objection to the use of the word in rules like "ṛccha-varjita-gurvíśvarāder ām adhokṣaje" i. 481. Candra uses 'laghu' and 'guru' in his rules, *e.g.*, "laghor upāntyasya" vi. 2. 4, etc., but is silent about these terms in his Varṇa-Sūtras, though he defines 'hrasva' and 'dírgha' there. Kramadíśvara does not use 'guru' in the rule "dírghopānto yuktāntaś ca dhātuh" i. 74 where Goyícandra says: gurūpanto dhātur iti na kṛtaṃ vaicitryārtham. The word "guru" is, however, used later on in "gurvijāder anrcchorṇoh" ii.1725 and in "anṛṣer antājdvitiyagurvacah" iv. 13. J. uses 'ghi' instead

of 'ghu' for 'laghu'. It seems to have some objection to 'ghu', as it not only avoids 'ghu' here, but uses 'bhu' for Pāṇini's 'ghu'. In most systems, however, 'ghu' stands for the roots *dā* and *dhā*. In several early systems of grammar 'ghu' meant 'uttara-pada'. Thus in a ślokavārttika under P. vi. 4. 149 we find ghau (v. l. dhau):

घौ। लोपोऽन्तिषदित्यत्र तथाघौ येऽन्त्यथर्वसु*।

घु-शब्देनोत्तरपदं पूर्वाचार्य्यप्रसिद्ध्योच्यते।···अघाविति। अनुत्तरपदे इत्यर्थः। कैयटः।

It is just possible that 'dyu' is the correct reading here, as in J. an uttarapada is technically designated 'dyu': uttara-padaṃ dyu i.3.104 (se i.e. samāse yad uttarapadam tad dyu-saṃjñam bhavati. Mahāvṛtti.) This 'dyu' is evidently composed of 'd' of 'pada' and 'u' of 'uttara' with a 'y' thrown in between, to distinguish the resulting word from 'du' which, in the Jainendra system, is a technical term for Vṛddha of the Pāṇini system (see J.i.1.68 ff.). Śāk. uses "uttarapada" and is thus of no help to us in determining the correct meaning.

Vopadeva uses 'ghu' for 'laghu' and 'ru' for 'guru'.

It is difficult to understand why K. and its followers use Laghu and Guru without defining them. They evidently think that the words are too well-known to require any explanation. But Hrasva and Dírgha are still better known and yet they have been defined. The Vṛtti says under i. 1. 6:

ह्रस्वो लघुर्दीर्घो गुरुरित्युच्चारणवशाद् गम्यते, तथा संयोगे सति ह्रस्वोऽपि गुरुः, "गुरुमतोऽनृच्छः" [३।१।१९] इति वर्जनाच्च।

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*What actually occurs in AV. is "ye *anti ye* ca dūrake". Kat. and Pat. evidently read "*antiye* ca dūrake".

The Tikā says:

लघुगुरुसंज्ञापि लोकोपचारात् [१।१।२३] इत्याह—ह्रस्वो लघुरित्यादि।···ननु तर्हि ह्रस्वदीर्घावपि लोकत एव सिद्धौ। सत्यम्, बालबुद्धिनिष्पत्त्यर्थावेव हि तौ, ततो हि लघु-गुरु-संज्ञां प्रतिपद्यन्ते श्रोतारः।

Acc. to works on Śikṣā, *y* and *v* are "guru" when initial, "laghu" when medial and "laghūtara" when final.

ऋ प्रा। गुरूणि दीर्घाणि तथेतरेषां संयोगानुस्वारपराणि यानि। १।२०-२१

लघु ह्रस्वं न चेत् संयोग उत्तरः। १८।३७-३८

गुरु दीर्घं गरीयस्तु यदि सव्यञ्जनं भवेत्।

लघु सव्यञ्जनं ह्रस्वं लघीयो व्यञ्जनादृते॥ १८।४१-४४

तै प्रा। यद् व्यञ्जनान्तं यदु चापि दीर्घं संयोगपूर्वं च तथानुनासिकम्।

एतानि सर्वाणि गुरूणि विद्याच्छेषाण्यतोऽन्यानि ततो लघूनि॥

अव्यञ्जनान्तं यद्ध्रस्वमसंयोगपरं च यत्।

अननुस्वारसंयुक्तं यत् तल्लघु निबोधत॥ २२।१४-१५

वाप्रा। संयोगपूर्वव्यञ्जनान्तावसानगताः स्वरा द्विमात्राः। ४।१०९

चतुरध्यायिका। ह्रस्वं लघ्वसंयोगे। गुर्वन्यत्। अनुनासिकं च। पदान्ते च। १।५१-५४

ऋत। गुरु सणि। घम्। १।४९-५० (सणि=संयोगे। घ=दीर्घ।)

पा। ह्रस्वं लघु। संयोगे गुरु। दीर्घं च। १।४।१०-१२

जै। प्रो घि च। स्फे रुः। दीः। १।२।१११-११२ (प्र=ह्रस्व। स्फ=संयोग। दी=दीर्घ।)

हैमप्रकाशः। दीर्घो विसर्गानुस्वारयुक् संयोगपरो गुरुः।
असंयोगपरो ह्रस्वो विसर्गाद्युज्झितो लघुः॥

मु। स्वर्घौ घुरू। स्वः स्ये रुः। ५४०-५४१। (स्व=ह्रस्व, र्घ=दीर्घ, स्य=संयोग।)

सु। ह्रस्वो लघुः। दीर्घो गुरुः। ह्रस्वश्च संयोगे। १।१।१६-१८

प्र। संयोगस्य तु यत् पूर्वं गुरु तत् प्रह्वयोस्तथा। १।१५
सानुस्वारविसर्गं च दीर्घं च गुरुसंज्ञकम्।
गुरुभिन्ना लघव इति सारम्। १।१६

ह। वामनो लघुः। त्रिविक्रमो गुरुः। सत्-सङ्गात् पूर्वो वामनोऽपि गुरुः। १।७९-८१ (वामन=ह्रस्व। त्रिविक्रम=दीर्घ। सत्सङ्ग=संयोग।)

"Guru-lāghava" is very happily used in the following stanza:

वर्णस्थं गुरुलाघवं न गणयत्याशङ्कते न क्वचि-
द्रूपं नैव परीक्षते न पुरुषं वृत्तेषु वार्त्ता कुतः।
कष्टं नायशसो बिभेति महतो नैवापशब्दान्तरा-
न्मृत्युर्मूर्खकविः खलः कुनृपतिश्चौरश्च तुल्यक्रियाः॥
सुभाषितरत्नभाण्डागार, ६२।२७६

NĀMIN AND BHĀVIN

"Nāmin" is the name given to vowels with the exception of *a* (short, long and prolated). The word is derived from the root *nam* with the suffix *ṇini* and means much the same thing as "nantṛ" (RP. i. 66), *viz.*, that which induces "nati". It has already been mentioned on p. 170 that the change of a dental (especially of *s* and *n*) into the corresponding cerebral is known as Nati, probably because the dental bows to, *i.e.*, yields to the cerebral. Hence those vowels after which the dental *s* is changed into the cerebral *ṣ* are known as Nāmin. Thus RP. says:

ऋकारादयो दश नामिनः स्वराः पूर्वो नन्ता नतिषु नम्यमुत्तरम् । १६५-६६

नमयन्ति दन्त्यं सन्तं मूर्धन्यं कुर्वन्तीति नामिनः । ऋ ॠ इ ई उ ऊ ए ऐ ओ औ इति । उवटः ।

VP. defines Nati in the rule "dantyasya mūrdhanyāpattir natih" i. 42, but uses the term "bhāvin" for "nāmin":

अकण्ठ्यो भावी । १।४६

कण्ठ्यावकाराकारौ वर्जयित्वा स्वराणां भावि-संज्ञा भवति । उवटः ।

Neither Uvaṭa nor Anantabhaṭṭa takes the trouble of explaining "bhāvin", but the term appears to have reference to the phenomenon of Nati. It is derived from the root *bhū* with the suffix *ṇini* and means that which causes mutation of a dental *s* into the corresponding cerebral.*

TP. has no technical term corresponding to Nāmin. CA. uses the word in "nāmyupadhasya rephah" ii. 42 etc., but does not define it.

In ĀŚS. i. 5. 10 "anatyakṣara" is used in the sense of Nāmin.

Pāṇini and his followers use the Pratyāhāra "ik" for Nāmin.

Kātyāyana uses "vināma" in his Vārttikas:

अग्रहणं चेन्नुड्विधि-लादेश-विनामेष्वृकारग्रहणम् । शिः सूः ४।११

अनो नुकि विनाम-रुविधि-प्रतिषेधः । ८।२।१६।१

Patañjali uses "vinata" in the sense of a dental *s* turned into cerebral:

अथ षणीति किमर्थम् ? सेषीव्यते । को विनतेऽनुरोधः ? अविनते नियमो मा भूत् । सुषुप्सतीति । ८।३।६१

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*Monier Williams says: prob. as liable to become the corresponding semi-vowel. Weber explains: yo bhāvayati, *i.e.*, nāmayati, that which causes bhāva, *i.e.*, nati.

But neither Kātyāyana nor Patañjali uses "nāmin".

K. has "svaro'varṇavarjo nāmī" i. 1. 7. By the time of the commentators the original sense was entirely forgotten. Hence Durga says in his commentary:

नमनं नामः, सोऽस्यास्तीति नामी, तथा चैषां ध्वनिर्ह्रस्व-दीर्घभेदेन स्वत एव निःसरति, न चोर्ध्वं स्पृशति।

Kulacandra says:

नामिनो वर्णाः स्थानेन वैदिकहस्तस्वरेणोर्ध्वमादत्ते, न ध्वनिना इति भावः। अवर्णस्तु ध्वनावप्यूर्ध्वमादत्ते।

He. has the rule "anavarṇo nāmī" i. 1. 6, but neither he nor his commentators explain "nāmin". Sār., as usual, follows K. and frames the rules "a-varjā nāminah" i. 5. Puruṣottama lays down:

इकाराद् यावदौकारं नाम्यृलृकारान्त इक् स तु। प्र १।१७

नमनं नामः सोऽस्यास्तीति नामी! इकारादीनां नम्रो ध्वनिरित्यर्थः !!! प्रभाप्रकाशिका।

HN. calls these vowels Iśvara: a-ā-varjitāh sarveśvarā iśvarah i. 8, probably because people bow down before God, and also because the word "Iśvara" is part of the word "Sarveśvara".

AGHOSA AND GHOSAVAT.

Śabda, Dhvani, Ghoṣa, Nāda—all mean 'sound'. Of these Śabda was seized upon by grammarians and used in the sense of 'sound, uninflected word with a conventional meaning.' Thus we find in the Mahābhāṣya:

अथ गौरित्यत्र कः शब्दः? किं यत् तत् सास्नालाङ्गूलककुदखुर-विषाण्यर्थरूपं स शब्दः?

नेत्याह—द्रव्यं नाम तत् ।

यत् तर्हि तदिङ्गितं चेष्टितं निमिषितं स शब्दः ?

नेत्याह—क्रिया नाम सा ।

यत् तर्हि तच्छुक्लो नीलः कृष्णः कपिलः कपोत इति स शब्दः ?

नेत्याह—गुणो नाम सः ।

यत् तर्हि तद् भिन्नेष्वभिन्नं छिन्नेष्वच्छिन्नं सामान्यभूतं स शब्दः ?

नेत्याह—आकृतिर्नाम सा ।

कस्तर्हि शब्दः ?

येनोच्चारितेन सास्ना-लाङ्गूल-ककुद-खुर-विषाणिनां संप्रत्ययो भवति स शब्दः । अथवा प्रतीतपदार्थको लोके ध्वनिः शब्द इत्युच्यते । तद् यथा—शब्दं कुरु, मा शब्दं कार्षीः, शब्दकार्यं माणवकः इति ध्वनिं कुर्वन्नेवमुच्यते । तस्माद् ध्वनिः शब्दः ।

'Now when we say "gauh", what is this "gauh"—what is the concept behind this word? Does it mean a thing possessed of dewlap, tail, hump, hoofs and horns? No, says the writer, for that is merely the substance. Is it then a bundle of various movements indicating internal feelings (such as licking the calf), or voluntary (such as walking) or reflex (such as movements of the eyes, ears etc)? No, replies the writer, for that is merely activity (or motion). Is the word then some colour like white or dark, dun or spotted? No, says the writer, for that is merely a quality. Is it then something which constitutes the generality which remains undifferentiated though the individuals might differ, which is not destroyed though the individuals might be destroyed (is it the general concept of *gotva* 'cowhood')? No, replies the author, for that is merely the genus.

Then what is 'word'? That is 'word' which when uttered brings us the knowledge of an individual possessing dewlap, tail, hump, hoofs and horns, or, in other words, the

sound which conventionally conveys a particular sense is properly called a word. Thus one making a sound is spoken to and spoken of as follows: make a sound, do not make any sound, this boy is making a sound.'

A little further on Patañjali says:

श्रोत्रोपलब्धिर्बुद्धिनिर्ग्राह्यः प्रयोगेणाभिज्वलित आकाशदेशः शब्दः ।

'Sound is that which is perceived by the ear, which is thoroughly grasped by the intellect, which is lit up by letters and which is (nothing but the vibration of) ether.'

"Dhvani" is taken possession of by rhetoricians and made to denote suggested sense more charming than the literal meaning (vācyātiśāyini vyan·gye dhvanih). Thus in the well-known stanza:

विक्रीय विस्पष्टमुखेन बाला मालाकृतः कैरवकोरकाणि ।
विक्रेतुकामा विकचाम्बुजानि चेलाञ्चलेनाननमावृणोति ॥

'Having sold kairava-buds with her face unveiled, the gardener's daughter, desirous of selling full-blown lotuses, covers her face with the border of her garment.' The suggested sense which is much more charming than the literal meaning is that the girl's face is the moon. The kairava buds open out in the presence of the moon, while the lotus closes its petals. Hence she uncovers her face while selling the kairava-buds but veils it at the time of selling the full-blown lotuses, lest they become shrunk into buds.

Phoneticians took charge of "ghoṣa" and "nāda" and used them in the sense of "voice". We read in RP. that "śvāsa" is the material of the surd sounds and "nāda" of the sonants (śvāso' ghoṣāṇām. itareṣām tu nādah xiii.4-5). Similarly we find in TP. "nādo 'nupradānaṃ svara-ghoṣa-vatsu" ii.8 and "aghoṣeṣu śvāsah" ii.10 i.e. in vowels and

sonant consonants the after-effort is sound, in surd consonants it is breath. Similarly we find in CA.: śvāso 'ghoṣeṣv-anupradanah, nādo ghoṣavat-svareṣu i. 12-13.

As Whitney says: The Prātiśākhya here lays down with entire correctness the distinction between the surd and sonant sounds, which consists in the different nature of the material furnished in the two classes to the mouth organs by the lungs and throat; in the one class it is mere breath, simple unintonated air; in the other class, it is breath made sonant by the vocal chords on its passage through the throat and thus converted into sound (Atharva-Veda Prātiśākhya, p. 17).

"Ghoṣa" in its technical sense occurs for the first time in AA. where it appears to have been used in two distinct senses. In ii. 2. 2 after mentioning the etymologies of Sūkta, Rk., Ardharca, Pada and Akṣara, the Āraṇyaka says:

ता वा एताः सर्वा ऋचः सर्वे वेदाः सर्वे घोषा एकैव व्याहृतिः प्राण एव, प्राण ऋच इत्येव विद्यात्।

Keith rightly translates: "Therefore one should know that all these verses, all these Vedas, all sounds are one word, *prāṇa*, and that *prāṇa* is all verses." There can hardly be any doubt that "ghoṣa" has been used in the sense of 'phoneme' here. This would appear to be the earliest technical sense of the word. In the next passage in the same chapter "ghoṣa" is evidently used in the sense of vowel:

तद्वा इदं बृहतीसहस्रं सम्पन्नम्, तस्य यानि व्यञ्जनानि तच्छरीरम्, यो घोषः स आत्मा, य ऊष्माणः स प्राणः। २।२।४

With this we may compare Chāndogya-Upaniṣad ii. 22. 5:

सर्वे स्वरा घोषवन्तो बलवन्तो वक्तव्याः···सर्व ऊष्माणोऽग्रस्ता अनिरस्ता विवृता वक्तव्याः···सर्वे स्पर्शा लेशेनानभिनिहिता वक्तव्याः।

Curiously enough the sense of "ghoṣa" was next shifted from 'vowels' to 'voiced consonants' as is clear from the Prātiśākhyas.

The ghoṣavat letters are the vowels, g, gh, ṅ, j, jh, ñ, ḍ, ḍh, ṇ, d, dh, n, b, bh, m, y, r, l, v and h; the rest are aghoṣa.

Acc. to Indian Phoneticians, the current of air expelled from the lungs by the will of the speaker coming to the mouth organ becomes śvāsa or nāda, acc. as the glottis is open or narrowed; when it becomes śvāsa it gives rise to aghoṣa sounds and when it becomes nāda it gives rise to ghoṣavat sounds. It will appear from this that śvāsa and nāda refer to the speaker and ghoṣa and aghoṣa to the hearer; in other words, ghoṣa and aghoṣa are the acoustic effects of śvāsa and nāda respectively.

RP. xiii.1 says:

वायुः प्राणः कोष्ठ्यमनुप्रदानं कण्ठस्य खे विवृते संवृते वा।
आपद्यते श्वासतां नादतां वा वक्त्रीहायाम्॥

Hc. quotes from the Āpiśali-Śikṣā in his Bṛhad-vṛtti on i. 1. 17:

स इदानीं प्राणो नाम वायुरूर्ध्वमाक्रामन् मूर्ध्नि प्रतिहतो निवृत्तः कोष्ठमभिहन्ति। तत्र कोष्ठऽभिहन्यमाने कण्ठविलस्य विवृतत्वाद् विवारः, संवृतत्वात् संवारः। तत्र यदा कण्ठविलं विवृतं भवति, तदा श्वासो जायते, संवृते तु नादः। तावनुप्रदानमाचक्षते। अन्ये तु ब्रुवते। अनुप्रदानम् अनुस्वानो घण्टादिनिर्ह्रादवत्। तत्र यदा स्थानकरणाभिघातजे ध्वनौ नादोऽनुप्रदीयते, तदा नादध्वनि-संसर्गाद् घोषो जायते, यदा तु श्वासोऽनुप्रदीयते, तदा श्वासध्वनिसंसर्गादघोषो जायते।

VP. uses "jit" for "aghoṣa" and "dhi" for "ghoṣavat". *Jit* is used, probably because the letters stand at the beginning of each varga and are consequently regarded as victorious. In 'dhi' *dh* is taken as the type of the aghoṣas and a euphonic *i* is added for ease of utterance.

[Similarly in "dhuṭ" (of K. and its followers) standing for all the consonants except the nasals and the semi-vowels, *dh* is taken as the type of aspirate voiced consonants. Thus "dhuṭ" stands for the aspirate voiced consonants, aspirate breath consonants, unaspirate voiced consonants, unaspirate breath consonants, sibilants and *h*. It is just possible that in some form of the Śivasūtras the aspirate voiced consonants began with *dha* instead of *jha*. The commentators of K. make no attempt to etymologize over this term, but the Haimaprakāśa explains "dhuṭ" thus:

धुक्षि धिक्षि सन्दीपने। धुक्ष धातुः। धुक्षते इति धुट्। क्विप् प्रत्ययः।

If we accept this etymology the Loc. sig. will be *dhuṣi*, but the form met with in grammar is *dhuṭi*.]

Ghoṣavat occurs in most of the Gṛhyasūtras in the technical sense in the nāma-karaṇa section, e.g. ghoṣavad ādyantar-antastham abhiniṣṭānāntaṃ dvyakṣaraṃ catura-kṣaraṃ vā. Aśvalāyana Gr. Śu. i. 13. 5.

Pāṇini never has occasion to use either "ghoṣavat" or "aghoṣa." For the former he uses the pratyāhāra 'haś' and for the latter 'khar'. C., J., Śāk., Sārasvata, Vopadeva and others follow Pāṇini. HN. uses "Gopāla" for "ghoṣavat" and "Yādava" for "aghoṣa". This is rather unfortunate since both Gopāla and Yādava begin with "ghoṣavat" letters. The author of HN. thought that the relations of Viṣṇu were either Gopālas or Yādavas, consequently he

divided the "aghoṣa" and "ghoṣavat" letters into Gopālas and Yādavas.

In the same way Sam. which uses the Pratyāhāras for the vowels only takes *k* and *g* as the types of the surds and sonants respectively and uses "kādi" for "aghoṣa" and "gādi" for "ghoṣavat". For "svara-ghoṣa" of K. it has "aj-gādi" (i. 187).

The vowels are not generally included in the list of ghosavat sounds in the Prātiśākhyas. Thus RP. mentions "svara" along with "ghoṣavat" in:

सहोपधोऽरिफित एकवर्णवद्
विसर्जनीयः स्वरघोषवत्परः। १।६७
अनर्धर्चान्ते स्वरघोषवत्परमूष्मः। १।९७

RP., however, quotes a view according to which the sound *a* constitutes the "ghoṣa" of the ghoṣavat sounds:

आहुर्घोषं घोषवतामकारमेके। १३।१५ (घोषवतां वर्णानामकारं घोषमाहुरेक आचार्याः।)

K. also uses "ghoṣavat" along with "svara" in its rules:

वर्गप्रथमाः पदान्ताः स्वरघोषवत्सु तृतीयान्। १।४।१
घोषवत्स्वरपरः। १।४।१३

But it is clear from the Mahābhāṣya that both Kātyāyana and Patañjali regarded the vowels as ghoṣavat. Thus under "parah sannikarṣah saṃhitā" i. 4. 109 we find the seventh Vārttika:

ह्रादाविरामे स्पर्शाघोषसंयोगेऽसन्निधानादसंहितम्।

Patañjali explains:

ह्रादाविरामे स्पर्शानाम् अघोषाणां संयोगेऽसन्निधानात् संहिता-संज्ञा न प्राप्नोति--कुक्कुटः पिप्पका पित्तमिति।

किमुच्यते संयोग इति। अथ यत्रैकः—पचतीति ?

एकः पूर्वपरयोर्ह्रादेन प्रच्छाद्यते। तद् यथा द्वयो रक्तयोर्वस्त्रयोर्मध्ये शुक्लं वस्त्रं तद्वर्णम् उपलभ्यते। बदरपिटके रिक्तको लोहकंसस्तद्वर्ण उपलभ्यते।

'If hrādāvirāmah or continuity of ghoṣa be regarded as the correct definition of Saṃhitā then the name Saṃhitā is not applicable to cases of conjunction of mutes and aghoṣas, *e.g.*, kukkuṭah, pippakā, pittam, because there is the cessation of ghoṣa. If it be objected, Why do you speak of conjunction? What about those cases where there is no conjunct but only one sound as in *pacati?* Our reply will be, a single sound is coloured by the ghoṣa of the preceding and following sounds. Thus a white cloth between two red cloths is perceived as red, a polished mirror in a basket of plums takes on the colour of the plums.'

Kaiyaṭa explains:

द्वयोरकारयोर्घोषवतोर्मध्ये चकारो घोषवानिव लक्ष्यते।

'Between the two *a*-sounds which are ghoṣavat the *c*-sound appears as ghoṣavat.'

Again we find in the Bhāṣya on "supāṃ su-luk ..." vii. 1. 39.:

इदं चाप्युदाहरणम्। आर्द्रे चर्मन्।...ननु चोक्तं पूर्वसवर्णेनाप्येतत् सिद्धमिति ? न सिध्यति, यद्यत्र पूर्वसवर्णः स्यादान्तर्यतो दकारः प्रसज्येत।

Patañjali says that as an instance of the elision of a case-ending we may mention 'ārdre carman'. It cannot be argued that 'carman' here can well be justified by regarding the pūrva-savarṇa as the substitute for the case-ending, for since the case-ending is *i* the savarṇa of *n* as the substitute for it would be *d*. What Patañjali means is that since the vowel is alpa-prāṇa (unaspirate) and ghoṣavat (voiced)

the substitute for it must also be alpa-prāṇa and ghoṣavat according to the Paribhāṣā: sthāne 'ntaratamah i. 1. 50. From this it is quite clear that Patañjali regards the vowel *i* as ghoṣavat.

ऋ प्रा। वर्गे वर्गे च प्रथमावघोषौ। १।१२

वा प्रा। द्वौ द्वौ प्रथमौ जित्। ऊष्माणश्च ह्-वर्जम्। मुच्च। धि शेषः। १।५०-५३।

तै प्रा। ऊष्म-विसर्जनीय-प्रथम-द्वितीया अघोषाः। १।१२, व्यञ्जन-शेषो घोषवान्। १।१४

चतुरध्यायिका। श्वासोऽघोषेष्वनुप्रदानः। नादो घोषवत्स्वरेषु। १।१२-१३

व्यञ्जनं घोषवत्-संज्ञमन्तस्था हः परौ यमौ।
त्रयस्त्रयश्च वर्गान्ता अघोषः शेष उच्यते॥ टीका।

[अप्रा। रेफप्रकृति घोषवत्-स्वरेषु। ३।३१]

ऋत। उत्तमा घोषाः। हान्तस्थाः। १४-१५

महाभाष्य। वर्गाणां प्रथमद्वितीया विवृतकण्ठाः श्वासानुप्रदाना अघोषाः।···तृतीयचतुर्थाः संवृतकण्ठा नादानुप्रदाना घोषवन्तः। १।१।९

का। वर्गाणां प्रथमद्वितीयाः शषसाश्चाघोषाः। घोषवन्तोऽन्ये। १।१।११-१२, धुड्व्यञ्जनमनन्तस्थानुनासिकम्। २।१।१३

नाट्यशास्त्र। द्वौ द्वौ वर्णौ तु वर्गाद्यौ शषसाश्च त्रयोऽपरे।
अघोषा घोषवन्तस्तु ततोऽन्ये परिकीर्तिताः॥
वर्गे वर्गे समाख्यातौ द्वौ वर्णौ प्रागवस्थितौ।
अघोषा इति ये त्वन्ये सघोषाः संप्रकीर्तिताः॥

ग घ ङ ज झ ञ ड ढ ण द ध न ब भ म य र ल वा मता घोषाः।
क ख च छ ट ठ त थ प फ श ष सा इति वर्गेष्वघोषाः स्युः॥

१४।११-१२, १४

अमरेश-शिक्षा। वर्गाणां प्रथमौ द्वौ द्वावूष्माणश्च हवर्जिताः।
जित्संज्ञका भवन्त्येते शेषा धिसंज्ञकाः स्मृताः॥

हे। आद्यद्वितया शषसा अघोषाः। अन्यो घोषवान्। १।१।१३-१४

अविद्यमानो घोषो येषाम्, यथा अनुदरा कन्या।...अघोषापेक्षया-चान्यत्वम्, तेन येषाममिशायी घोषः, तेऽन्यत्वजात्यध्यासिता घोषवन्त इत्यर्थः। लघुन्यासः। न विद्यते घोषः घण्टानिर्ह्रादवद् अनुस्वानो येषां ते अघोषाः। हैमप्रकाश॥

प्र। प्रथमद्वितीया वर्णाः शषसाश्चाघोषसंज्ञाः स्युः। येऽन्ये घोषाद् गाद्यास्ते घोषा घोषवन्तोऽपि। १।२२-२३

ह। हरिगदा-हरिघोष-हरिवेणु-हरिमित्राणि हश्च गोपालाः। यादवा अन्ये। १।३१-३२

यद्यपि यादवानां कियद्गोपालानां चैकवंशत्वं तथापि वृन्दावनस्थत्वेन गोपालो मथुरास्थत्वेन यादव इति भेदो विवक्षितः। टीका।

USMAN

"Uṣman" is found in AV. and the Brāhmaṇas in the sense of 'heat, hot vapour, vapour.' Then it came to signify 'those letters or sounds in the pronunciation of which there is the emission of hot breath.' Acc. to RP. the three sibilants ś, ṣ, s along with h, anusvāra, visarjanīya, jihvāmūlīya and upadhmānīya are "ūṣman". TP. excludes anusvāra and visarjanīya from the list. VP. goes a step farther and excludes jihvāmūlīya and upadhmānīya also. CA. mentions "ūṣman" several times, but it is not clear which particular sounds are meant. Acc. to Whitney, visarjanīya, jihvāmūlīya, upadhmānīya and the spirants constitute the "ūṣmans". Grammarians accept the view that found favour

with the author of VP. and regard ś, ṣ, s and h as "ūṣman". Later on the initial vowel was shortened and "ūṣman" became "uṣman." The aspirates are termed "soṣman". Later on they are called "mahāprāṇa". Pāṇini uses "sál" for "ūṣman" and "jhaṣ" for the sonant "sosmans". The word "ūṣman" is explained in several ways:

(१) ऊष्मा वायुः, तत्प्रधाना वर्णा ऊष्माणः। ऋप्रा भाष्य १।१२

(२) ऊष्माख्यबाह्यप्रयत्नयोगादुष्माण इत्याख्या, न तु स प्रथम-द्वितीयादिषु, रूढ्यभावात्। वैदिकाभरणम् (तै प्र १।९)।

(३) उष्म-धर्मयोगाद् उष्माण इहोच्यन्ते। दुर्गटीका। उष्म-धर्मयोगादिति। उच्चारणे यो मुखं तपति स एवोष्मधर्मः। पञ्जी।

As has already been pointed out on p. 184, the ūṣmans originally included the antahsthās. "Antahsthā" occurs only once in AA.

K. calls the spirants "ūṣman", but in the ākhyāta-section śiṭ is used several times. The Vṛtti points out "uṣman" is a self-explanatory name, whereas "śiṭ" and "śādi" are contracted terms, apparently without any meaning. But "śiṭ" is formed with the first letter of the series, viz., *ś* with *i* (abbreviation of 'iti') for ease of utterance and a final *ṭ* to round it off. "śādi" means the same thing and is found in Sam. in "ha-varjaṃ śādiś ca halíṣyate i. 206 etc. Śiṭ is found in the Phiṭ Sūtras in the sense of 'pronoun'. Cf. svāṅga-śíṭām adantānām PS. ii. 6. Here 'śíṭ' evidently stands for 'siṭ', formed with the initial *s* of "sarvanāman." Hc. uses "śiṭ" in the sense of the spirants.

HN. calls these Harigotras, because Śāmba begins with ś, the first of the ūṣmans.

"The term *ūṣman*, literally 'heat, hot vapour, steam,' is, in the grammatical language applied to designate all

ह। पूर्वो वामनः। परस्त्रिविक्रमः। त्रिमात्रो महापुरुषः॥
१।५-७

नाट्यशास्त्र। य इमे स्वराश्चतुर्दश निर्दिष्टास्तत्र वै दश समानाः।
पूर्वो ह्रस्वस्तेषां परश्च दीर्घो विधातव्यः॥ १४।२२-२३

GURU AND LAGHU

"Guru" is a very old word occurring in RV. in the sense of 'heavy'. In its technical sense it means 'a vowel long by nature or by position', a vowel which is long both by nature and by position is known as "Garíyah". In its technical sense Guru occurs first in RP. The opposite of "guru" is "laghu", the younger form of "raghu". "Laghu" literally means 'light' and is used of a vowel which is metrically short. A short vowel which stands alone without any consonant is known as "laghíyah". RT. and ST. use 'ghu' for 'laghu', *e.g.*, "yugmaṃ ghu" RT. 236. "u ghor ghuni ghoṣādih" 237. J. uses 'ru' for 'guru'. In the system of Pāṇini 'ru' represents a 'visarjaníya which stands for an original *s*'. Śāk. uses "guru" and HN. has no objection to the use of the word in rules like "ṛccha-varjita-gurvíśvarāder ām adhokṣaje" i. 481. Candra uses 'laghu' and 'guru' in his rules, *e.g.*, "laghor upāntyasya" vi. 2. 4. etc., but is silent about these terms in his Varṇa-Sūtras, though he defines 'hrasva' and 'dírgha' there. Kramadíśvara does not use 'guru' in the rule "dírghopānto yuktāntaś ca dhātuh" i. 74 where Goyícandra says: gurūpanto dhātur iti na kṛtaṃ vaicitryārtham. The word "guru" is, however, used later on in "gurvijāder anṛcchorṇoh" ii.1725 and in "anṛser antājdvitiyagurvacah" iv. 13. J. uses 'ghi' instead

of 'ghu' for 'laghu'. It seems to have some objection to 'ghu', as it not only avoids 'ghu' here, but uses 'bhu' for Pāṇini's 'ghu'. In most systems, however, 'ghu' stands for the roots *dā* and *dhā*. In several early systems of grammar 'ghu' meant 'uttara-pada'. Thus in a ślokavārttika under P. vi. 4. 149 we find ghau (v. l. dhau):

घौ। लोपोऽन्तिषदित्यत्र तथाघौ येऽन्त्यथर्वसु*।

घु-शब्देनोत्तरपदं पूर्वाचार्य्यप्रसिद्ध्योच्यते।···अघाविति। अनुत्तरपदे इत्यर्थः। कैयटः।

It is just possible that 'dyu' is the correct reading here, as in J. an uttarapada is technically designated 'dyu': uttara-padaṃ dyu i.3.104 (se i.e. samāse yad uttarapadam tad dyu-saṃjñam bhavati. Mahāvṛtti.) This 'dyu' is evidently composed of 'd' of 'pada' and 'u' of 'uttara' with a 'y' thrown in between, to distinguish the resulting word from 'du' which, in the Jainendra system, is a technical term for Vṛddha of the Pāṇini system (see J.i.1.68 ff.). Śāk. uses "uttarapada" and is thus of no help to us in determining the correct meaning.

Vopadeva uses 'ghu' for 'laghu' and 'ru' for 'guru'.

It is difficult to understand why K. and its followers use Laghu and Guru without defining them. They evidently think that the words are too well-known to require any explanation. But Hrasva and Dírgha are still better known and yet they have been defined. The Vṛtti says under i. 1. 6:

ह्रस्वो लघुर्दीर्घो गुरुरित्युच्चारणवशाद् गम्यते, तथा संयोगे सति ह्रस्वोऽपि गुरुः, "गुरुमतोऽनृच्छः" [३।१।१९] इति वर्जनाच्च।

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*What actually occurs in AV. is "ye *anti ye* ca dūrake". Kat. and Pat. evidently read "*antiye* ca dūrake".

The Tikā says:

लघुगुरुसंज्ञापि लोकोपचारात् [१।१।२३] इत्याह—ह्रस्वो लघुरित्यादि ।···ननु तर्हि ह्रस्वदीर्घावपि लोकत एव सिद्धौ। सत्यम्, बालबुद्धिनिष्पत्त्यर्थावेव हि तौ, ततो हि लघु-गुरु-संज्ञां प्रतिपद्यन्ते श्रोतारः।

Acc. to works on Śikṣā, *y* and *v* are "guru" when initial, "laghu" when medial and "laghūtara" when final.

ऋ प्रा। गुरूणि दीर्घाणि तथेतरेषां संयोगानुस्वारपराणि यानि। १।२०-२१

लघु ह्रस्वं न चेत् संयोग उत्तरः। १८।३७-३८

गुरु दीर्घं गरीयस्तु यदि सव्यञ्जनं भवेत्।

लघु सव्यञ्जनं ह्रस्वं लघीयो व्यञ्जनादृते॥ १८।४१-४४

तै प्रा। यद् व्यञ्जनान्तं यदु चापि दीर्घं संयोगपूर्वं च तथानुनासिकम्।

एतानि सर्वाणि गुरूणि विद्याच्छेषाण्यतोऽन्यानि ततो लघूनि॥

अव्यञ्जनान्तं यद्ध्रस्वमसंयोगपरं च यत्।

अननुस्वारसंयुक्तं यत् तल्लघु निबोधत॥ २२।१४-१५

वाप्रा। संयोगपूर्वव्यञ्जनान्तावसानगताः स्वरा द्विमात्राः। ४।१०९

चतुरध्यायिका। ह्रस्वं लघ्वसंयोगे। गुर्वन्यत्। अनुनासिकं च। पदान्ते च। १।५१-५४

ऋत। गुरु सणि। घम्। १।४९-५० (सणि=संयोगे। घ=दीर्घ।)

पा। ह्रस्वं लघु। संयोगे गुरु। दीर्घं च। १।४।१०-१२

जै। प्रो घि च। स्फे रुः। दीः। १।२।१११-११२ (प्र=ह्रस्व। स्फ=संयोग। दी=दीर्घ।)

हैमप्रकाशः। दीर्घो विसर्गानुस्वारयुक् संयोगपरो गुरुः।
असंयोगपरो ह्रस्वो विसर्गाद्युज्झितो लघुः॥

मु। स्वर्घौ घुरू। स्वः स्ये रुः। ५४०-५४१। (स्व=ह्रस्व, र्घ=दीर्घ, स्य=संयोग।)

सु। ह्रस्वो लघुः। दीर्घो गुरुः। ह्रस्वश्च संयोगे। १।१।१६-१८

प्र। संयोगस्य तु यत् पूर्वं गुरु तत् प्रह्वयोस्तथा। १।१५
सानुस्वारविसर्गं च दीर्घं च गुरुसंज्ञकम्।
गुरुभिन्ना लघव इति सारम्। १।१६

ह। वामनो लघुः। त्रिविक्रमो गुरुः। सत्-सङ्गात् पूर्वो वामनोऽपि गुरुः। १।७९-८१ (वामन=ह्रस्व। त्रिविक्रम=दीर्घ। सत्सङ्ग=संयोग।)

"Guru-lāghava" is very happily used in the following stanza:

वर्णस्थं गुरुलाघवं न गणयत्याशङ्कते न क्वचि-
द्रूपं नैव परीक्षते न पुरुषं वृत्तेषु वार्त्तां कुतः।
कष्टं नायशसो बिभेति महतो नैवापशब्दान्तरा-
न्मृत्युर्मूर्खकविः खलः कुनृपतिश्चौरश्च तुल्यक्रियाः॥
सुभाषितरत्नभाण्डागार, ६२।२७६

NĀMIN AND BHĀVIN

"Nāmin" is the name given to vowels with the exception of *a* (short, long and prolated). The word is derived from the root *nam* with the suffix *ṇini* and means much the same thing as "nantṛ" (RP. i. 66), *viz.*, that which induces "nati". It has already been mentioned on p. 170 that the change of a dental (especially of *s* and *n*) into the corresponding cerebral is known as Nati, probably because the dental bows to, *i.e.*, yields to the cerebral. Hence those vowels after which the dental *s* is changed into the cerebral *ṣ* are known as Nāmin. Thus RP. says:

ऋकारादयो दश नामिनः स्वराः पूर्वो नन्ता नतिषु नम्यमुत्तरम् । १६५-६६

नमयन्ति दन्त्यं सन्तं मूर्धन्यं कुर्वन्तीति नामिनः । ऋ ॠ इ ई उ ऊ ए ऐ ओ औ इति । उवटः ।

VP. defines Nati in the rule "dantyasya mūrdhanyāpattir natih" i. 42, but uses the term "bhāvin" for "nāmin":

अकण्ठ्यो भावी । १।४६

कण्ठ्यावकाराकारौ वर्जयित्वा स्वराणां भावि-संज्ञा भवति । उवटः ।

Neither Uvaṭa nor Anantabhaṭṭa takes the trouble of explaining "bhāvin", but the term appears to have reference to the phenomenon of Nati. It is derived from the root *bhū* with the suffix *ṇini* and means that which causes mutation of a dental *s* into the corresponding cerebral.*

TP. has no technical term corresponding to Nāmin. CA. uses the word in "nāmyupadhasya rephah" ii. 42 etc., but does not define it.

In ĀŚS. i. 5. 10 "anatyakṣara" is used in the sense of Nāmin.

Pāṇini and his followers use the Pratyāhāra "ik" for Nāmin.

Kātyāyana uses "vināma" in his Vārttikas:

अग्रहणं चेन्नुड्विधि-लादेश-विनामेष्वृकारग्रहणम् । शिः सूः ४।११

अनो नुकि विनाम-रुविधि-प्रतिषेधः । ८।२।१६।१

Patañjali uses "vinata" in the sense of a dental *s* turned into cerebral:

अथ षणीति किमर्थम् ? सेषीव्यते । को विनतेऽनुरोधः ? अविनते नियमो मा भूत् । सुषुप्सतीति । ८।३।६१

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*Monier Williams says: prob. as liable to become the corresponding semi-vowel. Weber explains: yo bhāvayati, *i.e.*, nāmayati, that which causes bhāva, *i.e.*, nati.

But neither Kātyāyana nor Patañjali uses "nāmin".

K. has "svaro'varṇavarjo nāmī" i. 1. 7. By the time of the commentators the original sense was entirely forgotten. Hence Durga says in his commentary:

नमनं नामः, सोऽस्यास्तीति नामी, तथा चैषां ध्वनिर्ह्रस्व-दीर्घभेदेन स्वत एव निःसरति, न चोर्ध्वं स्पृशति।

Kulacandra says:

नामिनो वर्णाः स्थानेन वैदिकहस्तस्वरेणोर्ध्वमादत्ते, न ध्वनिना इति भावः। अवर्णस्तु ध्वनावप्यूर्ध्वमादत्ते।

Hc. has the rule "anavarṇo nāmī" i. 1. 6, but neither he nor his commentators explain "nāmin". Sār., as usual, follows K. and frames the rules "a-varjā nāminah" i. 5. Puruṣottama lays down:

इकाराद् यावदौकारं नाम्यॄलृकारान्त इक् स तु। प्र १।१७

नमनं नामः सोऽस्यास्तीति नामी! इकारादीनां नम्रो ध्वनिरित्यर्थः !!! प्रभाप्रकाशिका।

HN. calls these vowels Iśvara: a-ā-varjitāh sarveśvarā iśvarah i. 8, probably because people bow down before God, and also because the word "Iśvara" is part of the word "Sarveśvara".

AGHOSA AND GHOSAVAT.

Śabda, Dhvani, Ghoṣa, Nāda—all mean 'sound'. Of these Śabda was seized upon by grammarians and used in the sense of 'sound, uninflected word with a conventional meaning.' Thus we find in the Mahābhāṣya:

अथ गौरित्यत्र कः शब्दः? किं यत् तत् सास्नालाङ्गूलककुदखुर-विषाण्यर्थरूपं स शब्दः?

नेत्याह—द्रव्यं नाम तत्।

यत् तर्हि तदिङ्गितं चेष्टितं निमिषितं स शब्दः ?

नेत्याह—क्रिया नाम सा।

यत् तर्हि तच्छुक्लो नीलः कृष्णः कपिलः कपोत इति स शब्दः ?

नेत्याह—गुणो नाम सः।

यत् तर्हि तद् भिन्नेष्वभिन्नं छिन्नेष्वच्छिन्नं सामान्यभूतं स शब्दः ?

नेत्याह—आकृतिर्नाम सा।

कस्तर्हि शब्दः ?

येनोच्चारितेन सास्ना-लाङ्गूल-ककुद-खुर-विषाणिनां संप्रत्ययो भवति स शब्दः। अथवा प्रतीतपदार्थको लोके ध्वनिः शब्द इत्युच्यते। तद् यथा—शब्दं कुरु, मा शब्दं कार्षीः, शब्दकार्यं माणवकः इति ध्वनिं कुर्वन्नेवमुच्यते। तस्माद् ध्वनिः शब्दः।

'Now when we say "gauh", what is this "gauh"—what is the concept behind this word? Does it mean a thing possessed of dewlap, tail, hump, hoofs and horns? No, says the writer, for that is merely the substance. Is it then a bundle of various movements indicating internal feelings (such as licking the calf), or voluntary (such as walking) or reflex (such as movements of the eyes, ears etc)? No, replies the writer, for that is merely activity (or motion). Is the word then some colour like white or dark, dun or spotted? No, says the writer, for that is merely a quality. Is it then something which constitutes the generality which remains undifferentiated though the individuals might differ, which is not destroyed though the individuals might be destroyed (is it the general concept of *gotva* 'cowhood')? No, replies the author, for that is merely the genus.

Then what is 'word'? That is 'word' which when uttered brings us the knowledge of an individual possessing dewlap, tail, hump, hoofs and horns, or, in other words, the

sound which conventionally conveys a particular sense is properly called a word. Thus one making a sound is spoken to and spoken of as follows: make a sound, do not make any sound, this boy is making a sound.'

A little further on Patañjali says:

श्रोत्रोपलब्धिर्बुद्धिनिर्ग्राह्यः प्रयोगेणाभिज्वलित आकाशदेशः शब्दः ।

'Sound is that which is perceived by the ear, which is thoroughly grasped by the intellect, which is lit up by letters and which is (nothing but the vibration of) ether.'

"Dhvani" is taken possession of by rhetoricians and made to denote suggested sense more charming than the literal meaning (vācyātiśāyini vyan·gye dhvanih). Thus in the well-known stanza:

विक्रीय विस्पष्टमुखेन बाला मालाकृतः कैरवकोरकाणि ।
विक्रेतुकामा विकचाम्बुजानि चेलाञ्चलेनाननमावृणोति ॥

'Having sold kairava-buds with her face unveiled, the gardener's daughter, desirous of selling full-blown lotuses, covers her face with the border of her garment.' The suggested sense which is much more charming than the literal meaning is that the girl's face is the moon. The kairava buds open out in the presence of the moon, while the lotus closes its petals. Hence she uncovers her face while selling the kairava-buds but veils it at the time of selling the full-blown lotuses, lest they become shrunk into buds.

Phoneticians took charge of "ghoṣa" and "nāda" and used them in the sense of "voice". We read in RP. that "śvāsa" is the material of the surd sounds and "nāda" of the sonants (śvāso' ghoṣāṇām. itareṣām tu nādah xiii.4-5). Similarly we find in TP. "nādo 'nupradānaṃ svara-ghoṣa-vatsu" ii.8 and "aghoṣeṣu śvāsah" ii.10 i.e. in vowels and

sonant consonants the after-effort is sound, in surd consonants it is breath. Similarly we find in CA.: śvāso 'ghoṣeṣv-anupradanah, nādo ghoṣavat-svareṣu i. 12-13.

As Whitney says: The Prātiśākhya here lays down with entire correctness the distinction between the surd and sonant sounds, which consists in the different nature of the material furnished in the two classes to the mouth organs by the lungs and throat; in the one class it is mere breath, simple unintonated air; in the other class, it is breath made sonant by the vocal chords on its passage through the throat and thus converted into sound (Atharva-Veda Prātiśākhya, p. 17).

"Ghoṣa" in its technical sense occurs for the first time in AA. where it appears to have been used in two distinct senses. In ii. 2. 2 after mentioning the etymologies of Sūkta, Rk., Ardharca, Pada and Akṣara, the Āraṇyaka says:

ता वा एताः सर्वा ऋचः सर्वे वेदाः सर्वे घोषा एकैव व्याहृतिः प्राण एव, प्राण ऋच इत्येव विद्यात्।

Keith rightly translates: "Therefore one should know that all these verses, all these Vedas, all sounds are one word, *prāṇa*, and that *prāṇa* is all verses." There can hardly be any doubt that "ghoṣa" has been used in the sense of 'phoneme' here. This would appear to be the earliest technical sense of the word. In the next passage in the same chapter "ghoṣa" is evidently used in the sense of vowel:

तद्वा इदं बृहतीसहस्रं सम्पन्नम्, तस्य यानि व्यञ्जनानि तच्छरीरम्, यो घोषः स आत्मा, य ऊष्माणः स प्राणः। २।२।४

With this we may compare Chāndogya-Upaniṣad ii. 22. 5:

सर्वे स्वरा घोषवन्तो बलवन्तो वक्तव्याः···सर्व ऊष्माणोऽग्रस्ता अनिरस्ता विवृता वक्तव्याः···सर्वे स्पर्शा लेशेनानभिनिहिता वक्तव्याः।

Curiously enough the sense of "ghoṣa" was next shifted from 'vowels' to 'voiced consonants' as is clear from the Prātiśākhyas.

The ghoṣavat letters are the vowels, g, gh, ṅ, j, jh, ñ, ḍ, ḍh, ṇ, d, dh, n, b, bh, m, y, r, l, v and h; the rest are aghoṣa.

Acc. to Indian Phoneticians, the current of air expelled from the lungs by the will of the speaker coming to the mouth organ becomes śvāsa or nāda, acc. as the glottis is open or narrowed; when it becomes śvāsa it gives rise to aghoṣa sounds and when it becomes nāda it gives rise to ghoṣavat sounds. It will appear from this that śvāsa and nāda refer to the speaker and ghoṣa and aghoṣa to the hearer; in other words, ghoṣa and aghoṣa are the acoustic effects of śvāsa and nāda respectively.

RP. xiii.1 says:

वायुः प्राणः कोष्ठ्यमनुप्रदानं कण्ठस्य खे विवृते संवृते वा।
आपद्यते श्वासतां नादतां वा वक्त्रीहायाम्॥

Hc. quotes from the Āpiśali-Śikṣā in his Bṛhad-vṛtti on i. 1. 17:

स इदानीं प्राणो नाम वायुरूर्ध्वमाक्रामन् मूर्ध्नि प्रतिहतो निवृत्तः कोष्ठमभिहन्ति। तत्र कोष्ठऽभिहन्यमाने कण्ठबिलस्य विवृतत्वाद् विवारः, संवृतत्वात् संवारः। तत्र यदा कण्ठबिलं विवृतं भवति, तदा श्वासो जायते, संवृते तु नादः। तावनुप्रदानमाचक्षते। अन्ये तु ब्रुवते। अनुप्रदानम् अनुस्वानो घण्टादिनिर्ह्रादवत्। तत्र यदा स्थानकरणाभिघातजे ध्वनौ नादोऽनुप्रदीयते, तदा नादध्वनि-संसर्गाद् घोषो जायते, यदा तु श्वासोऽनुप्रदीयते, तदा श्वासध्वनिसंसर्गादघोषो जायते।

VP. uses "jit" for "aghoṣa" and "dhi" for "ghoṣavat". *Jit* is used, probably because the letters stand at the beginning of each varga and are consequently regarded as victorious. In 'dhi' *dh* is taken as the type of the aghoṣas and a euphonic *i* is added for ease of utterance.

[Similarly in "dhuṭ" (of K. and its followers) standing for all the consonants except the nasals and the semi-vowels, *dh* is taken as the type of aspirate voiced consonants. Thus "dhuṭ" stands for the aspirate voiced consonants, aspirate breath consonants, unaspirate voiced consonants, unaspirate breath consonants, sibilants and *h*. It is just possible that in some form of the Śivasūtras the aspirate voiced consonants began with *dha* instead of *jha*. The commentators of K. make no attempt to etymologize over this term, but the Haimaprakāśa explains "dhuṭ" thus:

धुक्षि धिक्षि सन्दीपने। धुक्ष धातुः। धुक्षते इति धुट्। क्विप् प्रत्ययः।

If we accept this etymology the Loc. sig. will be *dhuṣi*, but the form met with in grammar is *dhuṭi*.]

Ghoṣavat occurs in most of the Gṛhyasūtras in the technical sense in the nāma-karaṇa section, e.g. ghoṣavad ādyantar-antastham abhiniṣṭānāntaṃ dvyakṣaraṃ catura-kṣaraṃ vā. Aśvalāyana Gr. Śu. i. 13. 5.

Pāṇini never has occasion to use either "ghoṣavat" or "aghoṣa." For the former he uses the pratyāhāra 'haś' and for the latter 'khar'. C., J., Śāk., Sārasvata, Vopadeva and others follow Pāṇini. HN. uses "Gopāla" for "ghoṣa-vat" and "Yādava" for "aghoṣa". This is rather unfortunate since both Gopāla and Yādava begin with "ghoṣavat" letters. The author of HN. thought that the relations of Viṣṇu were either Gopālas or Yādavas, consequently he

divided the "aghoṣa" and "ghoṣavat" letters into Gopālas and Yādavas.

In the same way Sam. which uses the Pratyāhāras for the vowels only takes *k* and *g* as the types of the surds and sonants respectively and uses "kādi" for "aghoṣa" and "gādi" for "ghoṣavat". For "svara-ghoṣa" of K. it has "aj-gādi" (i. 187).

The vowels are not generally included in the list of ghoṣavat sounds in the Prātiśākhyas. Thus RP. mentions "svara" along with "ghoṣavat" in:

सहोपधोऽरिफित एकवर्णवद्
विसर्जनीयः स्वरघोषवत्परः। १।६७
अनर्धर्चान्ते स्वरघोषवत्परमूष्मः। १।९७

RP., however, quotes a view according to which the sound *a* constitutes the "ghoṣa" of the ghoṣavat sounds:

आहुर्घोषं घोषवतामकारमेके। १३।१५ (घोषवतां वर्णानामकारं घोषमाहुरेक आचार्याः।)

K. also uses "ghoṣavat" along with "svara" in its rules:

वर्गप्रथमाः पदान्ताः स्वरघोषवत्सु तृतीयान्। १।४।१
घोषवत्स्वरपरः। १।४।१३

But it is clear from the Mahābhāṣya that both Kātyāyana and Patañjali regarded the vowels as ghoṣavat. Thus under "parah sannikarṣah saṃhitā" i. 4. 109 we find the seventh Vārttika:

ह्रादाविरामे स्पर्शाघोषसंयोगेऽसन्निधानादसंहितम्।

Patañjali explains:

ह्रादाविरामे स्पर्शानाम् अघोषाणां संयोगेऽसन्निधानात् संहिता-संज्ञा न प्राप्नोति--कुक्कुटः पिप्पका पित्तमिति।

किमुच्यते संयोग इति। अथ यत्रैकः—पचतीति ?

एकः पूर्वपरयोर्ह्रादेन प्रच्छाद्यते। तद् यथा द्वयो रक्तयोर्वस्त्रयोर्मध्ये शुक्लं वस्त्रं तद्वर्णम् उपलभ्यते। बदरपिटके रिक्तको लोहकंसस्तद्वर्ण उपलभ्यते।

'If hrādāvirāmah or continuity of ghoṣa be regarded as the correct definition of Saṃhitā then the name Saṃhitā is not applicable to cases of conjunction of mutes and aghoṣas, *e.g.*, kukkuṭah, pippakā, pittam, because there is the cessation of ghoṣa. If it be objected, Why do you speak of conjunction? What about those cases where there is no conjunct but only one sound as in *pacati*? Our reply will be, a single sound is coloured by the ghoṣa of the preceding and following sounds. Thus a white cloth between two red cloths is perceived as red, a polished mirror in a basket of plums takes on the colour of the plums.'

Kaiyaṭa explains:

द्वयोरकारयोर्घोषवतोर्मध्ये चकारो घोषवानिव लक्ष्यते।

'Between the two *a*-sounds which are ghoṣavat the *c*-sound appears as ghoṣavat.'

Again we find in the Bhāṣya on "supāṃ su-luk ..." vii. 1. 39:

इदं चाप्युदाहरणम्। आर्द्रे चर्मन्।...ननु चोक्तं पूर्वसवर्णेनाप्येतत् सिद्धमिति ? न सिध्यति, यद्यत्र पूर्वसवर्णः स्यादान्तर्यतो दकारः प्रसज्येत।

Patañjali says that as an instance of the elision of a case-ending we may mention 'ārdre carman'. It cannot be argued that 'carman' here can well be justified by regarding the pūrva-savarṇa as the substitute for the case-ending, for since the case-ending is *i* the savarṇa of *n* as the substitute for it would be *d*. What Patañjali means is that since the vowel is alpa-prāṇa (unaspirate) and ghoṣavat (voiced)

the substitute for it must also be alpa-prāṇa and ghoṣavat according to the Paribhāṣā: sthāne 'ntaratamah i. 1. 50. From this it is quite clear that Patañjali regards the vowel *i* as ghoṣavat.

ऋ प्रा। वर्गे वर्गे च प्रथमावघोषौ। १।१२

वा प्रा। द्वौ द्वौ प्रथमौ जित्। ऊष्माणश्च ह्-वर्जम्। मुच्च। धि शेषः। १।५०-५३।

तै प्रा। ऊष्म-विसर्जनीय-प्रथम-द्वितीया अघोषाः। १।१२, व्यञ्जन-शेषो घोषवान्। १।१४

चतुरध्यायिका। श्वासोऽघोषेष्वनुप्रदानः। नादो घोषवत्स्वरेषु। १।१२-१३

व्यञ्जनं घोषवत्-संज्ञमन्तस्था हः परौ यमौ।
त्रयस्त्रयश्च वर्गान्ता अघोषः शेष उच्यते॥ टीका।

[अप्रा। रेफप्रकृति घोषवत्-स्वरेषु। ३।३१]

ऋत। उत्तमा घोषाः। हान्तस्थाः। १४-१५

महाभाष्य। वर्गाणां प्रथमद्वितीया विवृतकण्ठाः श्वासानुप्रदाना अघोषाः।···तृतीयचतुर्थाः संवृतकण्ठा नादानुप्रदाना घोषवन्तः। १।१।९

का। वर्गाणां प्रथमद्वितीयाः शषसाश्चाघोषाः। घोषवन्तोऽन्ये। १।१।११-१२, धुड्व्यञ्जनमनन्तस्थानुनासिकम्। २।१।१३

नाट्यशास्त्र। द्वौ द्वौ वर्णौ तु वर्गाद्यौ शषसाश्च त्रयोऽपरे।
अघोषा घोषवन्तस्तु ततोऽन्ये परिकीर्तिताः॥
वर्गे वर्गे समाख्यातौ द्वौ वर्णौ प्रागवस्थितौ।
अघोषा इति ये त्वन्ये सघोषाः संप्रकीर्तिताः॥

ग घ ङ ज झ ञ ड ढ ण द ध न ब भ म य र ल वा मता घोषाः।
क ख च छ ट ठ त थ प फ श ष सा इति वर्गेष्वघोषाः स्युः॥

१४।११-१२, १४

अमरेश-शिक्षा। वर्गाणां प्रथमौ द्वौ द्वावूष्माणश्च हवर्जिताः।
जित्संज्ञका भवन्त्येते शेषा धिसंज्ञकाः स्मृताः॥

हे। आद्यद्वितया शषसा अघोषाः। अन्यो घोषवान्। १।१।१३-१४

अविद्यमानो घोषो येषाम्, यथा अनुदरा कन्या।...अघोषापेक्षयाचान्यत्वम्, तेन येषाममिशायी घोषः, तेऽन्यत्वजात्यध्यासिता घोषवन्त इत्यर्थः। लघुन्यासः। न विद्यते घोषः घण्टानिर्ह्रादवद् अनुस्वानो येषां ते अघोषाः। हैमप्रकाशः।

प्र। प्रथमद्वितीया वर्णाः शषसाश्चाघोषसंज्ञाः स्युः। येऽन्ये घोषाद् गाद्यास्ते घोषा घोषवन्तोऽपि। १।२२-२३

ह। हरिगदा-हरिघोष-हरिवेणु-हरिमित्राणि हश्च गोपालाः। यादवा अन्ये। १।३१-३२

यद्यपि यादवानां कियद्गोपालानां चैकवंशत्वं तथापि वृन्दावनस्थत्वेन गोपालो मथुरास्थत्वेन यादव इति भेदो विवक्षितः। टीका।

USMAN

"Uṣman" is found in AV. and the Brāhmaṇas in the sense of 'heat, hot vapour, vapour.' Then it came to signify 'those letters or sounds in the pronunciation of which there is the emission of hot breath.' Acc. to RP. the three sibilants ś, ṣ, s along with h, anusvāra, visarjanīya, jihvāmūlīya and upadhmānīya are "ūṣman". TP. excludes anusvāra and visarjanīya from the list. VP. goes a step farther and excludes jihvāmūlīya and upadhmānīya also. CA. mentions "ūṣman" several times, but it is not clear which particular sounds are meant. Acc. to Whitney, visarjanīya, jihvāmūlīya, upadhmānīya and the spirants constitute the "ūṣmans". Grammarians accept the view that found favour

with the author of VP. and regard ś, ṣ, s and h as "ūṣman". Later on the initial vowel was shortened and "ūṣman" became "uṣman." The aspirates are termed "soṣman". Later on they are called "mahāprāṇa". Pāṇini uses "sál" for "ūṣman" and "jhaṣ" for the sonant "sosmans". The word "ūṣman" is explained in several ways:

(१) ऊष्मा वायुः, तत्प्रधाना वर्णा ऊष्माणः। ऋप्रा भाष्य १।१२

(२) ऊष्माख्यबाह्यप्रयत्नयोगादुष्माण इत्याख्या, न तु स प्रथम-द्वितीयादिषु, रूढ्यभावात्। वैदिकाभरणम् (तै प्र १।९)।

(३) उष्म-धर्मयोगाद् उष्माण इहोच्यन्ते। दुर्गटीका। उष्म-धर्मयोगादिति। उच्चारणे यो मुखं तपति स एवोष्मधर्मः। पञ्जी।

As has already been pointed out on p. 184, the ūṣmans originally included the antahsthās. "Antahsthā" occurs only once in AA.

K. calls the spirants "ūṣman", but in the ākhyāta-section śiṭ is used several times. The Vṛtti points out "uṣman" is a self-explanatory name, whereas "śiṭ" and "śādi" are contracted terms, apparently without any meaning. But "śiṭ" is formed with the first letter of the series, viz., *ś* with *i* (abbreviation of 'iti') for ease of utterance and a final *ṭ* to round it off. "śādi" means the same thing and is found in Sam. in "ha-varjaṃ śādiś ca halīṣyate i. 206 etc. Śiṭ is found in the Phiṭ Sūtras in the sense of 'pronoun'. Cf. svāṅga-śiṭām adantānām PS. ii. 6. Here 'śiṭ' evidently stands for 'siṭ', formed with the initial *s* of "sarvanāman." Hc. uses "śiṭ" in the sense of the spirants.

HN. calls these Harigotras, because Śāmba begins with ś, the first of the ūṣmans.

"The term *ūṣman*, literally 'heat, hot vapour, steam,' is, in the grammatical language applied to designate all

those sounds which are produced by a rush of unintonated breath through an open position of the mouth organs, or whose utterance has a certain similarity to the escape of steam through a pipe: they are sibilants and aspirations or breathings. In the term *soṣman*, 'aspirated mute,' and in its correlative *anūṣman*, 'unaspirated mute', *ūṣman* is to be understood, not in this specific sense, but in that of 'rush of air, expulsion of unintonated breath.'' Whitney on Atharva Veda Pratiśākhya i.10.

ऋ प्रा। उत्तरेऽष्टावूष्माणः।...यथा ह श ष स अः≍क≍प अं इति। १।१०

अन्तस्थाभ्य उत्तरेऽष्टा ऊष्माणो वेदितव्याः। उवटः।

वा प्रा। अथोष्माणः। शिति षिति सिति हिति। ८।१६-१७

The sibilants are known as ''mut'' in VP. from the *m* of ''ūṣman'' with ''ut'' instead of ''it'', because *m* is a labial. And because the ūṣmans begin with ś, they are known as *śiṭ* or *śādi* in K. etc.

तै प्रा। परे षडूष्माणः। १।९

अन्तस्थेभ्यः परे ये वर्णाः षट् ते ऊष्मसंज्ञा भवन्ति। यथा≍क श प स ≍प ह इति। माहिषेयः।

आपिशलि-शिक्षा। शादय ऊष्माणः। ४।७

TP. uses ''anūṣmavat'' instead of ''anūṣman'' in ''vyut-pūrva ānanudātto' nūṣmavati'' iii. 16.

''Soṣmavān'' occurs in RP. xi. 25, but the reading is doubtful.

Aghoṣavat is used for aghoṣa in K. i. 5. 9. Some use ghoṣa for ghoṣavat or ghoṣin. Cf. Upalekha Sūtra (i. 7):

प्रथम-द्वितीया वर्गाणामूष्माणश्च हकारवर्जमघोषवन्तः।

का। ऊष्माणः श-ष-स-हाः। १।१।५

शिडिति शादयः। ४।४

हे। अं अः × क ≍ प-श-ष-साः शिट्। १।१।१६

सं। शादि इत्यनेन श-ष-स-हानां ग्रहणम्। १।८३ वृत्तिः।

प्र। शिट्-संज्ञकाः श-ष-स-हा एत एवोष्मसंज्ञकाः। १।२७

शिट्-संज्ञा-फलं शिटौऽनादीत्यादौ। उष्मसंज्ञा तु पाणिन्यनुरोधात्। प्रभाप्रकाशिका। उष्मसंज्ञाफलं गीतासुबोधिन्याम्—स्पर्शोष्मभिर्वेद्यमानमिति। फेत्कारिणीतन्त्रे च—

उष्ममुद्धृत्य मीनाक्षि वामकर्णेन्दुभूषितम्।
वह्निजायां परे दत्त्वा यन्मनुर्विश्वपूजितः॥

उष्मः श ष स हाः। वामकर्ण ऊकारः। इन्दुरर्धचन्द्रबिन्दुः। वह्निजाया स्वाहा। तेन शूँ षूँ सूँ हूँ स्वाहा इति षडक्षरमन्त्र इत्यर्थः। गूढ़प्रकाशिका।

ह। श-ष-स-हा हरिगोत्राणि। १।२८

ऊष्माणः शिटः शलश्च। वृत्तिः। हरेर्गोत्रम् हरिगोत्रम्। हरिगोत्रशब्देन कन्दर्प-शाम्बादय उच्यन्ते इति भगवन्नामता। टीका।

The earlier name for the aspirates was "soṣman". Mahāprāṇa would appear to have come into use later, the expression occurring for the first time in the Āpiśāli-Śikṣā.

ऋप्रा। युग्मौ सोष्माणौ। १।१३

वाप्रा। द्वितीय-चतुर्थाः सोष्माणः। १।५४

चतुरध्यायिका। द्वितीय-चतुर्थाः सोष्माणः। १।१०

आपिशलिशिक्षा। महति वायौ महाप्राणः। अल्पे वायावल्पप्राणः। साल्पप्राणमहाप्राणता। महाप्राणत्वादूष्मत्वम्। ८।१६-१९

ऊष्मव्यपेता रहिताश्च वृद्ध्या
संयोगहीना लघवोऽपि चान्तः।
श्लोकस्य वर्णा इव विद्विषस्ते
पादान्तमागम्य गुरूभवन्ति॥

Subhāṣitāvali, 2485.

'Your enemies, though bereft of all heat, deprived of all prosperity, removed from all contact (with allies) and humble of heart, attain dignity when they crouch at your feet, even as the syllables of a stanza, though there be no anusvāra or the like, no lengthening, no conjunct, though their vowels proper be short, become long by position when they come at the end of a verse (pāda).'

ANUNASIKA

"Anunāsika" literally means 'accompanied by a nose sound, pronounced through the nose' and, like anu-svāra etc., appears to be a learned scholarly word created by grammarians or phoneticians. The term "anunāsika" is used in the sense of (i) the nasal mutes and anusvāra as also in that of (ii) the nasalization of vowels or semi-vowels. RP. uses the technical term "Rakta" (lit. 'coloured', being pronounced through the nose) for "anunāsika". RT. also uses "Rakta"* in "ā raktah" 114. J. uses the first nasal *n·* as *upalakṣaṇa* for all the five nasals. Hc. uses the

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*Ran·ga is used in the Śikṣās in the sense of nasalization:

यथा सौराष्ट्रिका नारी तक्रँ इत्यभिभाषते ।
एवं रङ्गाः प्रयोक्तव्याः खे अराँ इव खेदया ॥
पाणिनिशिक्षा ।

सौराष्ट्रिका गोपवधूः सुकण्ठस्वरेण तक्राँ इति भाषते यथा ।
तथा समुच्चार्य वदेत् स्वकालाद् रङ्गश्च कम्पः खलु वर्धते सः ॥
पारिशिक्षा-टीका ।

यथेन्द्रनीलप्रभयाभिभूतो मुक्तामणिर्याति हि नीलभावम् ।
तथैव नासिक्यगुणेन युक्तः स्वरोऽपि रङ्गत्वमुपैति कृत्स्नः ॥
शिख्या-पाठः ।

word "anunāsika" without defining it. Sam. sometimes uses "vargānta" as in "varge vā tadvargāntah" i. 131 for the nasal mutes and "sānunasika" in the sense of 'nasalized'. Vopadeva uses the pratyāhara "ñam" for the nasal mutes, but speaks of the two kinds of "yar"—"niranunāsika" and "sānunāsika" *i.e.* non-nasal and nasal semi-vowels. Su. uses "anunāsika" in the sense of 'nasal' and in the rule "aṇo'pragṛhyasyānunāsikah" i. 2. 47 the word is used in the sense of 'nasalized'. HN. calls these "Hari-veṇu" or the flute of Hari, because of the nasal sounds of flutes.

It is to be noted that Pāṇini never uses the Pratyāhāra "ñam" in his Aṣṭādhyāyí, but has always recourse to the self-explanatory term "anunāsika." We can understand his using "anunāsika" in a rule like "upadeśe'j anunāsika it" i. 3. 2 or "ān·o'nunāsikaś chandasi" vi. 1. 126 in the sense of 'nasalized', but "ñam" could easily have been used in "cchvoh śūḍ anunāsike ca" vi. 4. 19, "anudāttopadeśa..." vi. 4. 37, "anunāsikasya kvi-jhaloh kn·iti" vi. 4. 15 etc. "ñam", however, is found in the Uṇādi-sūtra "ñamantāḍ ḍah" i. 111. It may be noted in this connexion that the Agnipurāṇa does not mention "ñam" in its list of pratyāhāras.

In VP. "uttama" is used in the sense of 'anunāsika' *e.g.* "uttamāntam uttamena" vii. 11. "Uttama" literally means 'highest', 'topmost' and so means 'the last of the series'. Pāṇini uses "uttama" in the sense of 'last' in his rule "uttamaikābhyāñ ca" v. 4. 90 and "upottama"* in the sense of 'last but one' in "aṇiñor anārṣayor gurūpottamayoh

*RP. uses "uttama" and "upottama" in exactly the same senses.

ṣyañ gotre'' iv. 1. 78, ''yopadhād gurūpottamādvuñ'' v. 1. 132 etc. Hc. cannot use ''uttama'' for the nasal as the term is reserved for the first person. Daṇḍin in his Kavyādarśa uses ''nāsikya'' for nasal.*

''Nāsikya'' appears to occur for the first time in CU. i. 2. 2 ''te ha nāsikyaṃ prāṇam udgitham upāsāñcakrire'' where ''nasikya'' evidently means 'being in, or coming from, the nose'. So it must have meant first any nasal sound. Probably it is used in this sense in the Mahābhāṣya (nāsikyo varṇah vi. 1. 63). Next it came to be used in opposition to ''anunāsika'' and was restricted to the nasal glide or the transition sound between *h* and a nasal (represented by *hum* because of its connexion with *h* and nasal), the Yamas and Anusvāra. It is used in this sense in:

शेष ओष्ठ्योऽपवाद्य नासिक्यान्। ऋप्रा १।४७

नासिक्यानां नासिका। चतुरध्यायिका १।२६

नासिक्ये नासिका स्थानं तथानुस्वार उच्यते।

यमा वर्गोत्तमाश्चापि यथोक्तं चैव ते मताः॥ टीका।

Next it was further restricted to the nasal glide from *h* to a nasal and it is in this sense that the word is generally used in the Prātiśakhyas.

नासिक्ययमानुस्वारान्। ऋप्रा १।४८

समानस्थानकरणा नासिक्यौष्ठ्याः। वा प्रा १।८० (नासिका-मूलेन यमाः। जिह्वामूलीयानुस्वारा हनुमूलेन। १।८२-८३, अनुनासिका-श्चोत्तमाः। १।८९)।

''What the sound may be which is thus taught to form the step of transition from the aspiration to a following

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* नासिक्यमध्या परितश्चतुर्वर्णविभूषिता।
अस्ति काचित् पुरी यस्यामष्टवर्णाह्वया नृपाः॥ ३।११४
(क् आ ञ् च् इ। प् उ ण् ड् र् अ क् अ।)

nasal, it is hard to say with confidence. I can only conjecture it to be a brief expulsion of surd breath through the nose, as continuation of the *h*, before the expulsion of the sonant breath which constitutes the nasal. The pure aspiration *h* is a corresponding surd to all the sonant vowels, semi-vowels, and nasals of the alphabet: that is to say, it is produced by an expulsion of breath through the mouth organs in any of the positions in which those letters are uttered; it has no distinctive position of its own, but is determined in its mode of pronunciation by the letter with which it is most nearly connected. Thus the *h*'s of *ha*, of *hi*, of *hu*, and those heard before the semi-vowels *w* and *y* in the English words *when* and *hue*, for instance, are all different in position, corresponding in each case with the following vowel or semi-vowel. *H* is usually initial in a word or syllable, and is governed by the letter which succeeds, and not by that which precedes it: but where it occurs before another consonant in the middle of a word—which is always its position in the Vedas before a nasal—the question may arise whether it shall adopt the mode of utterance of the letter before or after it: whether in *brahma*, for example, we divide, *brah·ma*, and pronounce the *h* in the position of the *a*, or *bra·hma*, and in the position of the *m*, through the nose. According to the Hindu method of syllabication, the former is the proper division, and the Hindu phonetists doubtless regarded the *h* as belonging with and uttered like the *a*: and noticing at the same time the utterance, scarcely to be avoided, of at least a part of the *h* in the position of the *m*, they took account of it as a separate element, and called it *nāsikya*." Whitney under CA. i. 100.

ऋप्रा। अनुनासिकोऽन्त्यः १।१४, रक्त-संज्ञोऽनुनासिकः। १।३६

वाप्रा। मुखनासिकाकरणोऽनुनासिकः। १।७५

तैप्रा। अनुस्वारोत्तमा अनुनासिकाः। २।३०

चतुरध्यायिका। उत्तमा अनुनासिकाः। १।११

ऋत। हुं इत्यनुनासिकः। १।२

पा। मुख-नासिका-वचनोऽनुनासिकः। १।१।८

आपिशलिशिक्षा। ञ-म-ङ-ण-नाः स्वस्थाना नासिकास्थानाश्च। १।२४

का। अनुनासिका ङ-ञ-ण-न-माः। १।१।१३

अनु पश्चात् नासिकास्थानम् उच्चारणम् एषाम् इत्यनुनासिकाः। अनु पश्चात् नासिकायोगाद् वा अनुनासिकाः। अनुग्रहणम् उभयवचन-प्रतिपत्त्यर्थम्—मुखवचना नासिकावचनाश्चेति। टीका। पूर्वं मुखस्थानम् उच्चारणं पश्चान्नासिका-स्थानम्। पञ्जी।

जै। नासिक्यो ङः। १।१।७

नासिकायां भवो वर्णो ङ-संज्ञो भवति। ञ-म-ङ-ण-नाः। लघु-वृत्तिः।

सु। अं ङ्मोऽनुनासिकाः। १।१।१४

प्र। पञ्चमा अनुनासिका ङ-ञ-ण-न-माः। १।२५

ह। ङ-ञ-ण-न-माः हरिवेणवः। १।२५

AYOGAVĀHA.

The word "Ayogavāha" does not occur in the earliest Prātiśākhyas. It is not found in Pāṇini, but occurs in several later systems of grammar. The term is explained to mean "(sounds) which occur (in the actual language) without being given (by grammarians) together with (the other letters of the alphabet), a term for Anusvāra, Visarjanīya, Upadhmānīya, Jihvāmūlīya and the Yamas." (M.W.).

"Yoga" is used in grammatical literature in the sense of 'rule'. Cf. "Yoga-vibhāga", "na hyekam udāharaṇam yogārambham prayojayati" etc., etc. The "Ayogavāhas" are not read in the Śivasūtras nor in the Varṇa-samāmnāya of other schools, hence the name. Uvaṭa appears to think that these can only be pronounced with the help of "*a*" etc., hence they are called "a-yogavāha":

अकारादिना वर्णसमाम्नायेन सहिताः सन्त एते वहन्ति आत्मलाभं प्राप्नुवन्ति अयोगवाहाः। वा प्रा। ८।१८ भाष्य।

The sense of the word was forgotton in later times and so "Yogavāha" came to be used instead. Even in VP. viii. 18 the commentator Ananta Bhaṭṭa reads "yoga-vāha" instead of "ayoga-vāha."

The Mahābhāṣya (ed. Kielhorn, vol. I, p. 28) explains the term thus:

इमेऽयोगवाहा न क्वचिदुपदिश्यन्ते, श्रूयन्ते च। तेषां कार्यार्थं उपदेशः कर्तव्यः। के पुनरयोगवाहाः? विसर्जनीय-जिह्वामूलीयोपध्मानीयानुस्वारनासिक्ययमाः। कथं पुनरयोगवाहाः? यदयुक्ता वहन्ति, अनुपदिष्टाश्च श्रूयन्ते। (अयुक्ता इत्यस्यैव हेतुकथनम्--अनुपदिष्टाश्चेति। अयुक्ताः प्रत्याहारलक्षणेन, पाठाभावादसम्बद्धा इत्यर्थः। उपदेशो द्विविधः—पाठः, ग्रहणकशास्त्रेण प्रत्यायनं च। स द्विविधोऽप्येषां नास्तीत्यर्थः। चशब्दो हेतौ। यतोऽनुपदिष्टास्ततोऽयुक्ता इत्यर्थः। क्वचित्तु च-शब्दो न पठ्यते। कैयटः। एवञ्चाक्षरसमाम्नायेऽयुक्ताः सन्तो वहन्ति प्रयोगं निर्वाहयन्तीत्ययोगवाहशब्दस्य व्युत्पत्तिर्दर्शिता। उद्द्योतः)।

Kātyāyana uses Ayogavāha in the Vārttika:

अयोगवाहानामट्सु णत्वम्। शिः सूः ५।६

Bhaṭṭoji says in his Śabda-Kaustabha:

अविद्यमानः योगः प्रत्याहारेषु सम्बन्धः येषां ते अयोगाः, अनुपदिष्टत्वाद् उपदिष्टैरगृहीतत्वाच्च प्रत्याहारसम्बन्धशून्या इत्यर्थः। वाहयन्ति निर्वाहयन्ति प्रयोगमिति वाहाः। अयोगाश्च ते वाहाश्च इति कर्मधारयः। अनुपदिष्टत्वे उपदिष्टैरगृहीतत्वे च सति श्रूयमाणा इत्यर्थः।

The Kātantra does not use the word "ayogavāha," but its commentator Durga says under i. 1. 19:

वर्णसमाम्नाये क्रमपरिपठितयोरनुस्वारविसर्जनीययोर्व्यस्तसंज्ञाविधानम् आभ्यां सह स्वरव्यञ्जनयोरभिन्नसन्निकृष्टत्वाविर्भावार्थम्। एवं सत्यमी इह योगवाहा एवोच्यन्ते। प्रत्याहार-वादिनः पुनराहुः—अयोगवाहा इति। कथं पुनरयोगवाहाः? अयुक्ता वहन्त्यनुपदिष्टाश्च श्रूयन्ते।

The commentary known as Kavirāja says:

स्वरत्वव्यञ्जनत्वाभ्यां युक्ताः सम्बद्धा वहन्तीत्यर्थः।...श्रीपतिस्तु केवलानामनुच्चार्यत्वाद् वर्णान्तरयोगं वहन्तीति योगवाहाः। कुलचन्द्रस्तु संज्ञात्वेन स्वरव्यञ्जनयोर्योगं सम्बन्धं वहन्तीति।

The Vṛtti-traya-vārttika, a work of the Kātantra school existing only in MS., says:

स्वरव्यञ्जनजौ अं अः × क≍पौ तन्मध्यगौ स्मृतौ।
स्वरव्यञ्जनवत्त्वाच्च कृती × क≍पौ परं नयेत्॥
योगवाहा विनिर्दिष्टा अत एव मनीषिभिः।
यतो युक्ता च सम्बद्धा संज्ञा-त्रितयवाहिनी॥

In the Pāṇiniya Śikṣā these are known as "Ayogavāha"-

उपध्मानीय ऊष्मा च जिह्वामूलीयनासिके।
अयोगवाहा विज्ञेया आश्रयस्थानभागिनः॥

(न विद्यते योगः संयोगो वर्णान्तरेण येषां ते अयोगवाहाः। अन्ये तु यमानप्ययोगवाहान् मन्यन्ते। तेषां मतेनायोगवाहशब्दः प्रत्यस्तमितावयवो रूढ़िशब्दोऽश्वकर्णवद् वेदितव्यः। पञ्जिका।)

In the Varṇa-pradīpa-śikṣā Amareśa calls them "saṃyogavāha":

अनुस्वारो विसर्गश्च नासिक्योऽथ यमस्तथा ।
जिह्वामूलमुपध्मा च नवैते स्युः पराश्रयाः ॥
संयोगवाहा एवैते निजस्वर-विवर्जिताः ।
पूर्वस्याङ्गं भवन्त्येते स्वरा एतेषु पूर्ववत् ॥

Śrīpatidatta says in his Kātantra-Pariśiṣṭa:

उक्तं हि व्यञ्जनता स्वरसन्धौ स्वरता णत्वविधौ योगवाहानाम् । ×क≍पोः परगमनार्थं व्यञ्जनतेष्टानुशिष्टिकृतः । केवलानामनुच्चारणाद् वर्णान्तरयोगं वहन्तीति योगवाहा अनुस्वारादयः । १।८९

The commentator explains:

योगं वहन्तीति कर्मण्यण् । योगो हि नियतयोग इत्युच्यते । तथाचोक्तम्—

अनुस्वारो विसर्गश्च द्वावेतौ पूर्वसंश्रयौ ।
जिह्वामूलीयोपध्मानीयौ परयोगवहावमू ॥

इति । कुलचन्द्रस्त्विह व्याकरणे संज्ञात्वेन स्वरव्यञ्जनयोर्योगं सम्बन्धं वहन्ति, तेन स्वरकार्ये स्वरा व्यञ्जनकार्ये व्यञ्जनान्येवोच्यन्ते, एतेन टीकाकारहृदयं वर्णयाम्बभूव । प्रत्याहारवादिनः पुनः प्रत्याहारेष्वनुक्तत्वात न स्वरव्यञ्जनाभ्यां युक्ता वहन्तीति अयोगवाहा एवानुस्वारादय इति ।

Neither "yogavāha" nor "ayogavāha" occurs in RP. or TP. In VP. we find the "ayogavāhas" clearly enumerated at the end:

अथायोगवाहाः ×क इति जिह्वामूलीयः ।≍प इत्युपध्मानीयः । अं इत्यनुस्वारः । अः इति विसर्जनीयः । हुँ इति नासिक्यः । कुँ खुँ गुँ घुँ इति यमाः । ८।२४

Under "urahkeṇa bṛṃhaṇaṃ tṛṃhaṇam iti ṣvaradharmatvād visargānusvārayoh" Saṃkṣiptasāravṛtti i. 298, Goyīcandra quotes:

विसर्गानुस्वारजिह्वामूलीयोपध्मानीयाश्चत्वारोऽमी योगवाहाः स्वरधर्माः ।

The introduction to the Rktantra enumerates the vowels and consonants and then says:

इति योगवाहाः। अथायोगवाहाः। अः इति विसर्जनीयः। ᳵक इति जिह्वामूलीयः। ᳵप इत्युपध्मानीयः। हुं इति नासिक्यः। अथ यमाः। कुं इति खुं इति गुं इति घुं इति यमाः···अथानुस्वारौ अं आं इत्यनुस्वारौ।

ANUSVĀRA.

Pāṇini uses "Anusvāra" without defining or describing it. The word literally means 'after-sound', and appears to have been specially coined by grammarians for their own purposes. Lexicons do not know any use of the word anterior to the Śrauta Sūtras.* The Atharva-veda Prātiśākhyas do not mention "anusvāra", though CA. distinctly describes the same phenomenon which is specified by other grammarians with the name of "Anusvāra" (Varma) and it is included in the term "Anu-nāsika." The other Prātiśākhyas and the later systems of grammar generally use the word. Mu., with its craze for monosyllabic technical terms, calls it by its second syllable "nu", and HN. calls it "Viṣṇu-cakra" from its appearance. Some grammarians call it "Bindu" also. (mo bindur avasāne vā iti Govinda Bhaṭṭah—Rāma Tarkavāgīśa's commentary on Mu.; 'no'ntaś cachor bindu-pūrvaṃ śam ṭaṭhoh ṣam tathostu sam" PR. i. 99). It

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*तस्यान्तापत्तिः। स्पर्शेषु स्ववर्ग्यमुत्तमम्। अन्तस्थासु तां तामनुनासिकाम्। रेफोष्मस्वनुस्वारम्। आश्वलायन १।२।१६-१८

Anu-svr is used in JUB. iv. 8. 3. 2:

हिङ्काराद् गकारमोकारेण वाचमनुस्वरन्त्यः।

appears from HN. that it is also called "Lava" (lit. 'a point', Cf. Gk. *iota*) in some grammars. J. uses "an·" for 'anusvāra.' Thus J. has "nugmo'n·" v. 4. 11, for Pāṇini's "mo'nusvārah" viii. 3. 23. Su. also represents anusvāra by "an·" in i. 1. 14; later on it uses the word "Anusvāra".

Now as regards the nature of "Anusvāra," three distinct views have been held by phoneticians:—

(i) "Anusvāra" is merely a nasalized vowel. This is the view of CA. which, however, does not use the term anusvāra but speaks of Anunāsika or Nāsikya. "The Prātiśākhya of the AV. recognizes this nasal vowel, called anunāsika, 'accompanied by a nasal', alone, ignoring Anusvāra, which, with the preceding vowel, represents two distinct successive sounds.". Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar* p. 53. Thus according to "nakārasya ca" CA. ii. 34 in the interior of a word *n* is elided before spirants, and according to "nakāra-makāryor lope pūrvasyānunāsikah" i. 67, the preceding vowel is nasalized. So for "sarāṃsi" CA. will have "sarāsi". TP. identifies anusvāra with anunāsika in v. 31, x. 11; xv. 1, xxii. 14.

(ii) According to the second view represented by RP., anusvāra is either a vowel or a consonant (anusvāro vyañjanaṃ vā svaro vā RP. i. 5). Similarly the commentators of Pāṇini hold that Anusvāra, Visarjanīya, Jihvāmulīya and Yamas are to be regarded as having been read after "*a*" and also included in "śar" (anusvāra-visarga-jihvāmūlīyopadhmānīya-yamānām akāropari śarṣu ca pāṭhasyopasaṃkhyātatvena) and consequently they are both vowels and consonants. When Uvaṭa says in his commentary on RP.: 'tasmāt svara-vyañjana-vyatiriktam anyad varṇāntaram etad ity etat-khyāpana-param evaitat sūtram," he merely means that just as Nṛsiṃha is neither man nor lion, but partakes of the

nature of both, so anusvāra is neither vowel nor consonant but partakes of the nature of both.

(iii) The third view which is expounded by the Vaidikābharaṇa, Yājuṣabhūṣaṇa etc. holds that the anusvāra is merely a consonant and consists of half "g". Thus the Vaidikābharaṇa says under TP. ii. 30:

अनुस्वारो व्यञ्जनं वा स्वरो वा [ऋप्रा १।५] इति परमतम्। तन्निरासार्थमुच्यते। अनुस्वारोऽप्युत्तमवद् व्यञ्जनमेवास्मच्छाखायाम्, अर्धगकाररूपत्वात्।

The Pāriśikṣā says:

यजुष्यनुस्वार इहापि यत्र भवेत् तदाद्यर्धगकारयुक्तः।

The Yājuṣabhūṣaṇa says:

...अनुस्वर्यते पश्चार्धे स्वरवदुच्चार्यत इत्यनुस्वारः।

(Quoted by Varma, p. 151).

For greater details and bibliography, see Varma, Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammarians, Chap. IX and Surya Kanta, Rktantra notes pp. 4-5.

"That the anusvāra in OIA. was not a mere nasalization, but a nasal continuation of, or a nasal glide following a pure vowel is borne out by MIA. and also by the traditional pronunciations of Sanskrit in different parts of India, which has altered of OIA. to a definite nasal [n·, n, w]". S. K. Chatterji, *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, p. 244.

The modern Bengali pronunciation of anusvāra is merely a development of the pronunciation described in (iii)—a nasal "g" naturally becomes n·. Cf. Mahābhāṣya:

यथा तृतीयास्तथा पञ्चमा आनुनासिक्यवर्जम्। आनुनासिक्य तेषामधिको गुणः। १।१।९

ऋप्रा। अनुस्वारो व्यञ्जनं वा स्वरो वा। १।५, अनुस्वारो व्यञ्जनं चाक्षराङ्गम्। स्वरान्तरे व्यञ्जनान्युत्तरस्य। पूर्वस्यानुस्वारविसर्जनीयौ। १।२२-२४, (विसर्जनीयानुस्वारौ भजेते पूर्वमक्षरम्। १८।३४) स्वरानुस्वारोष्मणामस्पृष्टं स्थितम्। १३।११

ह्रस्वामर्धस्वरभक्त्या समाम्नामनुस्वारस्योपधामाहुरेके।

अनुस्वारं तावतैवाधिकं च ह्रस्वोपधं दीर्घपूर्वं तदूनम्॥ १३।३२-३३

अनन्तस्थं तमनुस्वारमाहुः। व्याळिर्नासिक्यमनुनासिकं वा। १३।३६-३७

तै प्रा। अनुस्वारोत्तमा अनुनासिकाः। २।३०, तीव्रतरमानुनासिक्यमनुस्वारोत्तमेष्विति शैत्यायनः। समं सर्वत्रेति कौहलीपुत्रः। अनुस्वारेऽण्विति भारद्वाजः। १७।१-३

वा प्रा। अं इत्यनुस्वारः। ८।२१, अनुस्वारो ह्रस्वपूर्वोऽध्यर्धमात्रा पूर्वा चार्धमात्रेति। ४।१५०

ऋत। अथानुस्वारौ।* अं आं इत्यनुस्वारौ।

का। अं इत्यनुस्वारः। १।१।१९

अकार इहोच्चारणार्थः इति बिन्दुमात्रो वर्णोऽनुस्वार-संज्ञो भवति। वृत्तिः। अनुस्वर्यते संलीनं शब्द्यते इत्यनुस्वारः। दुर्गटीका। अनुशब्दः संश्लेषे। पूर्ववर्णेन संश्लिष्टिर्यथा स्यात् तथा उच्चार्यते। कविराजः।

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*Here the dual stands for short and long "anusvāra".

There is a good deal of difference of opinion as to the quantity of the anusvāra. Acc. to TP. i. 34 it has the quantity of a short vowel. Acc. to VP. iv. 150-151, an anusvāra preceded by a short vowel consists of a mora and a half, when preceded by a long vowel, it consists of half a mora. Regarding the anusvāra before *ś*, *ṣ*, *s*, *h* and *r* the Prātiśākhya-Pradīpa-Śikṣā quotes from Kātyāyana Śikṣā:

अनुस्वारस्य १कार आदेशश्छन्दसि स्मृतः।
ऊष्मरेफेषु परतस्तस्य त्रैविध्यमिष्यते॥
ह्रस्वाद्दीर्घो दीर्घाद्ध्रस्वो गुरौ च परतो गुरुः।
ऋकारपर ऊष्मान्तो दीर्घाद्दीर्घोऽपि जायते॥

हे। अं अः अनुस्वारविसर्गौ। १।१।९

अकारावुच्चारणार्थौ। अं इति नासिक्यो वर्णः। वृत्तिः।

मु। अं अः नुवौ। १९

अकार उच्चारणार्थः, बिन्दुद्विबिन्दुमात्रौ वर्णौ क्रमान्नुविसंज्ञौ स्तः। वृत्तिः।

प्र। एको बिन्दुरनुस्वारस्तिलवद् वार्धचन्द्रवत्। १।२८

अनु पश्चाद् वर्णान्तरानन्तरं स्वर्यते उच्चार्यतेऽसाविति·····अनुस्वारः। प्रभाप्रकाशिका। एक इति बिन्दुविशेषणम्, तेन एको बिन्दुरनुस्वारः स्यादिति केचित्। तन्न, एक इत्यस्य वैयर्थ्यापत्तेः। किन्तु एको मुख्यः प्रसिद्धो वर्णो बिन्दुः बिन्दुसंज्ञः, अनुस्वारः अनुस्वार-संज्ञः स्यात् इत्यर्थः। ···तिलवदित्यागमातिरिक्तशास्त्रेषु, अर्धचन्द्रवदित्यागमशास्त्रे।

ह। अं इति विष्णुचक्रम्। १।१४

अकार उच्चारणार्थः, बिन्दुस्वरूपो वर्णो विष्णुचक्रनामा। अनुस्वारो बिन्दुर्लवश्च।

VISARJANIYA.

"Visarjanīya" means literally 'concerned with the letting out (of the breath)' and is, like anusvāra etc., confined to grammatical literature. The earlier name seems to have been "abhiniṣṭāna" as would appear from "visarjanīyo'bhiniṣṭānah". CA. i. 42 and from Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra i. 13. 5: "Nāma dadyur ghoṣa-vad ādyantar-antastham abhiniṣṭānāntaṃ dvyakṣaraṃ catur-akṣaraṃ vā'. Pāṇini says: "abhi-nisastanah śabda-saṃjñāyām" viii. 3. 86 and his commentators explain "abhiniṣṭāna" as "visarjanīya'. Normally 'visarjanīya' should have been found in the

Prātiśākhyas and Kātantra and 'visarga' in Pāṇini. This is, however, not the case. "Visarga" is a very late word and does not occur in the Prātiśākhyas, Pāṇini and Kātantra. Hemacandra appears to be the first to use "Visarga," and Kramadíśvara and others follow him. Padmanābha uses both "visarjaníya" and "visarga". Thus we find "rusoh padānte *visarjaníyah*" i. 3. 1 where the Vṛtti has "visarga"—padānte ro rephasya sakārasya ca *visargo* bhavati" and "ickuro num-visarga-vyavāye'pi" i. 4. 1. J. simplifies matters by using the symbol "ah" for "visarjaníya". Thus for "khar-avasānayor visarjaníyah" viii. 3. 15, J. has "ante'h" v. 4. 21. Mu. uses the first syllable "vi" for "visarjaníya" and HN. calls it "Viṣṇu-sarga" (adding "ṣṇu" after the first syllable of "visarga"), just as it uses "Viṣṇubhakti" for "vibhakti".

In "visarjaníya" it was thought that the suffix -aníyar had been added in the karmavācya, so "visarga" was formed with ghañ in the karmavācya and two syllables were saved. K. uses "visṛṣṭa" for 'visarga' in "ra-sakārayor visṛṣṭah" iv. 4. 2 for the same reason. The corresponding rule in the nāma-section is "repha-sor visarjaníyah" ii. 3. 63.

"It is called visarjaníya either from its liability to be 'rejected', or from its being pronounced with full 'emission' of breath, or from its usually appearing at the 'end' of a word or sentence", says Monier Williams in his Dictionary. Of these the second explanation appears to be the correct one.

"There are three **voiceless spirants** appearing only as finals. The usual one, called Visarjaníya in the Prātiśākhyas, is according to the Taittiríya Prātiśākhya articulated in the same place as the end of the preceding

vowels [pūrvānta-sasthāno visarjaníyah TP. ii. 48]. Its place may be taken by Jihvāmulíya before the voiceless initial gutturals **k**, **kh**; and by Upadhmāníya before the voiceless initial labials **p**, **ph**. These two are regarded by the RV. Prātiśākhya as forming the second half of the voiceless aspirates **kh** and **ph** respectively ["soṣmatāṃ ca soṣmaṇām ūṣmaṇāhuh sasthānena" RP. xiii. 16], (just as **h** forms the second half of **gh**, **bh** etc.) ["ghoṣiṇāṃ ghoṣiṇaiva" RP. xiii. 17]. They are therefore the guttural spirant (Greek) χ and the bilabial spirant **f** respectively." Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar for Students*, p. 18.

In Sanskrit works Visarjaníya is described thus:

शृङ्गवद् बालवत्सस्य कुमार्य्याः स्तनयुग्मवत् ।
नेत्रवत् कृष्णसर्पस्य स विसर्ग इति स्मृतः ॥

वा प्रा । अः इति विसर्जनीयः । ८।२२

ऋत । अः इति विसर्जनीयः । १।२

का । अः इति विसर्जनीयः । १।१६

अकार इहोच्चारणार्थः । ः इति कुमारीस्तनयुगाकृतिर्वर्णो विसर्जनीयसंज्ञो भवति । वृत्तिः ।

हे । अं अः अनुस्वार-विसर्गौ । १।१।९

विसृज्यते विरम्यते घञि विसर्गः । कर्मप्रत्ययोपलक्षणं चेदम् । तेन विसृष्टो विसर्जनीय इत्यपि संज्ञाद्वयं द्रष्टव्यम् । लघुन्यासः ।

मु । अं अः नुवी । १९

प्र । ऊर्ध्वाधःस्थं बिन्दुयुग्मं विसर्ग इति गीयते । १।२९

इतेराद्यर्थत्वाद् विसर्जनीयो विसृष्टश्च गीयते । वृत्तिः । वि सृजिरविसर्गे । विसृज्यते विरम्यतेऽत्रेति, उत्पाद्यते सकारादाविति वा । ···कर्मणि क्ते विसृष्टश्च । प्रभाप्रकाशिका ।

ह । अः इति विष्णुसर्गः । १।१६

बिन्दुद्वयाकारो वर्णो विष्णुसर्गनामा। विसर्गो विसर्जनीयः विसृष्टोऽभिनिष्ठानश्च। वृत्तिः। सर्गः सृष्टिः। विष्णोः सर्गः विष्णुसर्ग इति विष्णुसर्गशब्दस्यार्थः। ब्रह्मलोकोपरि वैकुण्ठ-ध्रुवलोकयोर्बिन्दुद्वयाकारत्वेन विष्णुसर्गस्य प्रसिद्धिः। टीका।

According to many commentators Śrīharṣa refers to the Visarjanīya in the following stanza of the Naiṣadha (x. 87):

द्विकुण्डली वृत्तसमाप्तलिप्याः
कराङ्गुली काञ्चनलेखनीनाम्।
कैश्यं मसीनां स्मितभाः कठिन्याः
काये यदीये निरमायि सारैः॥

'On whose body was formed the pair of ear-rings with the best portion of the circular terminal script (*i.e.* the visarjanīya), the fingers of whose hands with the best of golden pens, the tresses of whose hair with the essence of ink and the sheen of whose smile with the best of chalks.'

Anusvāra and visarjanīya are referred to in the following well-known stanza:

बिन्दुद्वन्द्वतरङ्गिताग्रसरणिः कर्ता शिरोबिन्दुकं
कर्मेत्यन्वयकल्पनं विदधते ये केऽपि तेभ्यो नमः।
ये तु ग्रन्थसहस्रशाणकषणत्रुट्यत्कलङ्कैर्गिरा-
मुल्लासैः कवयन्ति बिह्लणकविस्तेष्वेव सन्नह्यते॥

'I bow to those who construe sentences by regarding that which has its forward path undulated by a couple of dots as the subject and that which has a dot on its head as the object. Bilhana Kavi arms himself against those alone who compose poems with flow of diction from which all alloy has been removed by rubbing in the touchstone of thousands of books.'

JIHVAMULIYA.

"Jihvāmūlíya" literally means 'belonging or pertaining to *i.e.* formed at or uttered from the root of the tongue'. The word "Jihvāmūlíya" occurs as early as the Atharva Veda (i. 34. 2), but as a technical term Jihvāmulíya" is found in grammatical literature only. Pāṇini makes special provision for the derivation of the word in his rule "Jihvāmūlān·guleś chah" iv. 3. 62, 'the suffix cha (íya) is added to *jihvāmūla* and *an·guli* in the sense of '*tatra bhavah*'. The word in its narrower sense of the peculiar pronunciation of the visarjaníya before *k* and *kh* is not found in RP., but the sonants *ṛ*, *l* and the sixth of the Uṣman letters or spirants as well as the first varga are described there as Jihvāmūlíya, *i.e.* formed at the root of the tongue: "ṛkara-lkārāv atha saṣṭha ūṣmā jihvāmūlíyāh prathamaś ca vargah" i. 41. The commentary on CA. i. 20 "jihvāmūlíyānāṃ hanumūlam" also mentions the same sounds as Jihvāmūlíya. TP. mentions "jihvāmūlíya" in its specialised sense in the rule:

न विसर्जनीय-जिह्वामूलीयोपध्मानीयानुस्वारनासिक्यानाम्। १।१८

(जिह्वामूलीयं जिह्वामूलेन जन्यत्वात्। उपध्मानीयः उपध्मानेन जन्यत्वात्। वैदिकाभरणम्।)

VP. frames the rule "ṛ-kau jihvāmūle" i. 65 excluding l from the list and states the sthāna to be Jihvāmūla or the base of the tongue. In i. 83 "jihvāmūlíyānusvārā hanumūlena" the karaṇa is stated to be the base of the jaws. TP. reverses the sthāna and karaṇa and says: "Hanu-mūle jihvāmūlena ka-varge sparśayati" ii. 35 and "sparśasthāneṣūṣmāṇa ānupūrvyeṇa" ii. 44. Whitney points out that CA. nowhere mentions Jihvāmūlíya and Upadhmāníya, but they

are implied in the rule "visarjanīyasya para-sasthāno'ghoṣe" ii. 40.

According to RP. ii. 33 Visarjanīya optionally remains unaltered before guttural and labial sounds: "prathamottama-vargīye sparśe vā". From TP. ix. 4 we learn that Āgniveśya and Vālmīki did not accept the change of visarjanīya into jihvāmūlīya.

Vopadeva calls the jihvāmūlīya "mu" from its middle syllable.

UPADHMANIYA.

"Upadhmānīya" appears to be formed from "upadhmāna," 'breathing or blowing upon,' and literally means 'on-breathing', and is, like similar other words, confined to grammatical literature. It is the bilabial spirant produced by the sound of the Visarjanīya before *p* or *ph*. The word does not occur in RP. or the Prātiśākhyas belonging to the Atharva Veda. This is first found in TP. and VP. The Kātantra school also uses the term, and so does RT. Pāṇini does not use "jihvāmūlīya" or "upadhmānīya", but uses the symbol ≍ "ardha-visarga" in his rule: kupvo≍k≍pau ca" viii. 3. 3. 7, though he uses "anusvāra" and "visarjanīya" each time. C., J. and Śāk. follow Pāṇini. Hc. and PR. follow K. Kramadīśvara, as usual, uses "jihvāmūlīya" and "upadhmānīya" without defining them in his rules: "jihvāmūlīyopadhmānīyau" i. 217 and "pa-phayor upadhmānīyah" i. 378, and the commentator says under ka-khayor jihvamūlīyo vā visargah ii. 376:

अनुस्वारानुनासिकसंज्ञावत् जिह्वामूलीयोपध्मानीयसंज्ञापि लोकप्रसिद्ध्या ज्ञातव्या।

Vopadeva calls "upadhmānīya" "ni" from the pen-

ultimate syllable, and describes, after Hc., Jihvāmūlíya as "vajrākṛti and Upadhmāníya as "gaja-kumbhākṛti". Su. evidently reads "upādhmāníya" for "upadhmāníya" in its Vṛtti on i. 1. 15. The author himself explains the word thus in the Pañjikā:

उप-आ-पूर्वकध्माधातोष्टनन्तस्य रूपम्। उपाध्माने भवः। गहादित्वात् [५।३।१५] ईयः। उपाध्मानीय इति वकारसंयोगो यदि तदा ध्मनधातोर्घणन्तादीयः।

वा प्रा। ≍प इत्युपध्मानीयः*। ८।२०

का। × क इति जिह्वामूलीयः। ≍ प इत्युपध्मानीयः। १।१।१७-१८

ककार इहोच्चारणार्थः। × इति वज्राकृतिर्वर्णो जिह्वामूलीयसंज्ञो भवति। पकार इहोच्चारणार्थः। ≍ इति गजकुम्भाकृतिर्वर्ण उपध्मानीय-संज्ञो भवति। वृत्तिः। उपपूर्वात् ध्मा शब्दाग्निसंयोगयोः इति धातोः कर्मण्यनीयप्रत्ययः—उप समीपे ध्मायते शब्द्यते इति। पञ्जी। यद्यपि अन्योऽपि उप समीपे ध्मायते तथापि रूढ़िवशादस्यैव प्रतीतिरिति। समीप इति पफयोरिति विशेषः। कविराजः।

हे। अं अः × क ≍ प श ष सः शिट्। १।१।१६

अनुस्वारो विसर्गो वज्राकृतिर्गजकुम्भाकृतिश्च वर्णः शषसाश्च शिट्-संज्ञका भवन्ति। अकार-ककार-पकारा उच्चारणार्थाः। बहुवचनं वर्णेष्वपठितयोरपि × क ≍ पयोर्वर्णत्वार्थम्। बृहद्वृत्तिः। शिट्-धुट्-शब्दयोर्विषयनामत्वात् पुंस्त्वम्। × क ≍ पयोर्देशकाललिपिभेदेऽपि रूपाभेदाद् दृष्टान्तमाह—वज्राकृतिरिति। वज्रस्येवाकृतिर्यस्य स तथा। गजकुम्भयोरिवाकृतिर्यस्य सोऽपि तथा। ककारपकारौ चानयोः परदेशस्था-वुच्चार्येते। सर्वत्र परसम्बद्धावेवैतौ भवतो न स्वतन्त्रौ, नापि पूर्वसम्बद्धा-

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*In "uvopopadhmā oṣṭhe" i. 70 "upadhmā" is used for "upadhmāníya".

वनुस्वारवदिति। रेफादेशत्वात् कखपफसन्निधावेव तयोः प्रयोगादल्पविषयत्वम्। अत एव सत्यपि सामानाधिकरण्येऽल्पीयस्त्वज्ञापनाय शिडित्येकवचनेन निर्देशः कृतः। अथ कथमनयोर्वर्णत्वम्, वर्णसमाम्नाये पाठाभावात्। सत्यम्, रेफस्य वर्णत्वात् तयोश्च रेफादेशत्वाद् वर्णत्वसिद्धिः। न च वर्णादेशत्वेन लोपस्यापि वर्णत्वमाशङ्कनीयम्, तस्याभावरूपत्वात्। न चाभावो भावस्याश्रयो भवितुमर्हति, अतिप्रसङ्गात्। अयमेवार्थो बहुवचनेन सूच्यते, अनुवादकत्वेन तस्य साधकत्वाभावात् इत्याह—बहुवचनमिति। ननु × क ≍ पयोर्व्यञ्जनसंज्ञापि पूर्वेषामस्ति, तत् कथं तैः सह न विरोधः? उच्यते। रेफस्थानित्वेन व्यञ्जनसंज्ञापीति न विरोधः।

प्र। [शिटोऽनादिकखोर्जिह्वामूलीयः स्याद् विभाषया। १।१२३।] उदूखलाकृतिर्वज्राकृतिर्वायं निगद्यते। वृत्तिः। [शिटोऽनादिपफोर्वा स्यादुपध्मानीयसंज्ञकः। १।१२४] स चाशीत्यङ्कवत् गजकुम्भवद् वा।

मु। × क ≍ पौ मून्यौ। २०

जिह्वामूल उच्चार्यतेऽसौ जिह्वामूलीयः। उपाध्मानीयस्योच्चारणस्थानमोष्ठः। सर्पश्वासवदुच्चारणम्।

"नुवी पूर्वेण सम्बद्धौ मुन्यौ तु परगामिणौ।
चत्वारोऽयोगवाहाख्याः णत्वकर्मण्यचो मताः।
अचः स्वयं विराजन्ते हसस्तु परमाश्रयेत्॥"

दुर्गादासः।

'The lip is the organ of pronunciation of the Upadhmāníya, and the pronunciation is like the breath of the serpent. Anusvāra and Visarjaníya are connected with the preceding letter and Jihvāmūlíya and Upadhmāníya with the following. These four "ayogavāhas" are regarded as vowels in the matter of the mutation of *n* into *ṇ*. The vowels shine by themselves, while the consonants cling to others for support.'

ANTAHSTHĀ.

"Antahsthā" was originally an ā-stem evidently formed with the agent suffix *kvip* from the root *sthā* preceded by *antar*. The word means 'standing in between, occupying an intermediate position'. In grammatical literature the semi-vowels *y*, *r*, *l* and *v* are called "antahsthā", because they stand between the mutes and the spirants, or (according to Western scholars,) because they stand midway between the vowels and consonants. The word was originally either masc. or fem., like viśvapā, śan·khadhmā etc. in the later language. Thus we find in ŚB. i. 4. 3. 8:

य एवायं मध्यमः प्राण एतमेवैतया समिन्धे। सा हैषान्तस्था प्राणानाम्, अतो ह्यन्य ऊर्द्धाः प्राणाः, अतोऽन्येऽवाञ्चः। अन्तस्था ह भवति, अन्तस्थामेनं मन्यन्ते, य एवमेतामन्तस्थां प्राणानां वेद।

In the above extract the fem. *sā* appears to stand for the fem. sāmidheni (saiṣā "Agniṃ dūtam vṛṇímahe" iti sāmidheṇí—S.), so it is not possible to conclude that since "antahsthā" is fem., *sā* and *eṣā* are fem. (vidheyaprādhānyāt strílin·ga-nirdeśah, as in Kālidāsa's well-known line "śaityaṃ hi yat sā prakṛtir jalasya"). Similarly "ya evam etām antasthām prāṇānāṃ veda" is inconclusive, because here also "etām antasthām prāṇānām" refers to "sāmidheni" which is fem. On the other hand "antasthā" is evidently masculine in the expression "antasthām enam manyante".

The word occurs for the first time in its grammatical sense in AA. iii. 2. 1:

तस्यैतस्यात्मनः प्राण ऊष्मरूपम्, अस्थीनि स्पर्शरूपम्, मज्जानः स्वररूपम्, मांसं लोहितम् इत्येतदन्यच्चतुर्थमन्तस्थारूपम् इति ह स्माह ह्रस्वो माण्डूकेयः।

It is not clear from this passage if the word is masc. or fem. Since, however, most words ending in ā are feminine, it soon came to be regarded as belonging to the feminine gender and in the Prātiśākhyas and K. and its followers the word is uniformly fem.*

In AŚS. i. 2. 17 we find: antasthāsu tāṃ tām anunāsikām.

After mentioning the mutes RP. says: catasro 'ntasthāstatah i. 12 and follows it up with: uttare' ṣṭāv ūṣmāṇah. Hence the commentator Uvaṭa says: sparśoṣmaṇām antar madhye tiṣṭhantíty antahsthāh.

In TP. "parāś catasro'ntahsthāh" i. 8 comes between "ādyā pañcaviṃśatih sparśāh" i. 7 and "pare ṣaḍ ūṣmāṇah". The commentary Vaidikābharaṇa says: jihvā-madhyaprabhṛtínāṃ karaṇānām antair janyatvād ya-ra-la-vā antasthā ity ākhyāyante. The commentator evidently reads 'antasthā' for 'antahsthā'.

VP. viii. 14-15 and RT. (introduction) have: athāntasthāh. *Yiti riti liti viti.* RT. uses "sthā" for "antasthā" in the rule "raṇam api sthāyām" 181 (karaṇam api antasthāyām āpadyate—Vṛtti).

Pāṇini and his followers use the Pratyāhāra "yaṇ" for "antasthā". Patañjali, however, is not averse to the use of the word:

अथ किमर्थमन्तस्थानामण्सूपदेशः क्रियते। शिः सूः ५

स्पृष्टं स्पर्शानां करणम्। ईषत्स्पृष्टमन्तस्थानाम्। १।१।१०

The tradition of the Prātiśākhyas had continued upto Hc. The visarga of "antasthā" was dropped very early

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*सति लिङ्गान्तरे यत्र स्त्रीलिङ्गञ्च प्रयुज्यते।
शोभा-निष्पत्तये यस्मान्नामैव स्त्रीति पेशलम्॥
वक्रोक्तिजीवित २।२२

according to RP. iv. 36 "ūṣmaṇyaghoṣodaye lupyate pare nate'pi" (corresponding to the Vārttika "va śar-prakaraṇe khar-pare lopah" viii. 3. 36. 1), even as the visarga of "nihṣṭhā" was dropped. This gave rise to the erroneous idea in the minds of later commentators that the word was composed of 'anta' and 'stha'.

HN. calls these Harimitra. The commentary does not explain why they are called Harimitra. The fact is that the word Yādava begins with the semi-vowel *y* and the Yādavas are the relations ("mitras") of Hari, hence the semi-vowels are designated Harimitra.

का। अन्तस्था य-र-ल-वाः। १।१।१४

स्वस्य स्वस्य स्थानस्यान्ते तिष्ठन्तीत्यन्तस्था उच्यन्ते। यकारस्तालव्यः, रेफो मूर्धन्यः, लकारो दन्त्यः, वकारो दन्त्यौष्ठ्यः। तथाचोक्तम्—ईषत्स्पृष्टा अन्तस्था इति। लिङ्गमशिष्यं लोकाश्रयत्वात् इति वर्णविशेषणमप्यन्तस्थाशब्दः स्त्रियां वर्तते, यथा कलत्रं स्त्रियामपि नपुंसकम्। टीका। स्वभावात् वर्णविषयेऽप्यन्तस्थाशब्दः स्त्रीलिङ्ग एव। पञ्जी। यकारादीनां स्वस्थानानि ताल्वादीनि, तदन्तेऽवसाने शेषावयवे तिष्ठन्तीत्येतदेवाह। अन्तस्थो वर्ण इति जिनेन्द्रः, तदसम्मतमित्याह—स्वभावादिति। कविराजः।

हे। य-र-ल-वा अन्तस्थाः। १।१।१५

लिङ्गमशिष्यं लोकाश्रयत्वात् इति वर्णविशेषणमप्यन्तस्थाशब्दः स्त्रीलिङ्गो बाहुलकात्, शब्दशक्तिस्वाभाव्यात् बहुत्ववृत्तिश्च प्रायः। लघुन्यासः। अन्तस्थाशब्दो बाहुलकात् स्त्रीलिङ्गः, अन्यथा शिट्-धुट्-शब्दवत् विषयनामत्वात् पुंस्त्वं स्यात्, "मानद्रुमाद्रिविषयाशुगशोणमास" [पुं ३।३] इति लिङ्गानुशासनवचनात्। हैमप्रकाशः।

सु। यवरलो यण्। १।१।८

प्र। ज्ञेया यरलवोऽन्तस्थाः। १।१।२४

वर्णानां स्वस्य स्वस्योच्चारणस्थानस्य वा अन्ते तिष्ठन्तीति "स्थश्च" [१७।१०६] इति डः, "डानुबन्धेऽन्त्यस्वरादिलोपः" इत्यालोपः। प्रभाप्रकाशिका।

ह। यरलवा हरिमित्राणि। १।२७

अन्तस्था यलश्च। वृत्तिः। हरिमित्र-शब्देन नन्दादिरुच्यते "यन्मित्रं परमानन्दम्" इति स्मरणात्। अतोऽस्य भगवन्नामता। टीका।

SPARSA.

"Sparśa" (from *spṛś* 'to touch') literally means 'contact'. In grammatical literature it denotes the mutes (including nasals), because in their case the contact of the sthāna with the karaṇa is complete. The word appears to have been used for the first time in this sense in AA. where in the first two passages in which it occurs it is used in opposition to ūṣman which evidently includes the semi-vowels. In the sense of mute "sparśa" is found in the Śrauta sūtras, RP., TP., VP., CA and PR.

अकारो वै सर्वा वाक्। सैषा स्पर्शोष्मभिर्व्यज्यमाना बह्वी नानारूपा भवति। ऐ आ। २।३।६

तस्यैतस्यात्मनः प्राण ऊष्मरूपम्, अस्थीनि स्पर्शरूपम्, मज्जानः स्वररूपम्, मांसं लोहितम् इत्येतदन्यच्चतुर्थमन्तस्थारूपमिति ह स्माह ह्रस्वो माण्डूकेयः। ऐ आ। ३।२।१

पृथिव्या रूपं स्पर्शाः, अन्तरिक्षस्योष्माणः, दिवः स्वराः। अग्नेरूपं स्पर्शाः, वायोरूष्माणः, आदित्यस्य स्वराः। ऋग्वेदस्य रूपं स्पर्शाः, यजुर्वेदस्योष्माणः, सामवेदस्य स्वराः। चक्षुषो रूपं स्पर्शाः, श्रोत्रस्योष्माणः, मनसः स्वराः। प्राणस्य रूपं स्पर्शाः, अपानस्योष्माणः, व्यानस्य स्वराः। ३।२।५

अन्तस्थासु तां तामनुनासिकाम्। आश्वलायन १।२।१८

VP. uses "sparśa" in "sparśeṣveva saṃkhyā" i. 49 etc. and defines it in chapter viii which is regarded as a later addition. Similarly CA. uses the word in the rule "sparśāh prathamottamāh" i. 6 etc. without defining it.

Similarly RT. uses "sparśa" in the rules "sparśe rgasya" 13 and "sparśah sve" 25 and defines it in the introductory chapter which is distinctly a later addition.

Pāṇini has no occasion to speak of the mutes and so he neither uses the term "sparśa" nor any Pratyāhāra to denote the mutes. Kātyāyana uses it once in the Vārttika:

ह्रादाविरामे स्पर्शाघोषसंयोगोऽसन्निधानादसंहितम्। १।५।१०७

Patañjali uses the term in the sentence:

स्पृष्टं स्पर्शानां करणम्। १।१।१०

K. has no occasion to use the word, hence it is conspicuous by its absence in K.

Mu. uses the Pratyāhāra *ñap* for Sparśa.

ऋ प्रा। तेषामाद्याः स्पर्शाः। १।७

तेषां व्यञ्जनानाम् आद्या वर्णाः स्पर्शसंज्ञा वेदितव्याः। स्पृष्टकरणाः स्पर्शाः कादयो मान्ताः।

तै प्रा। आद्या पञ्चविंशतिः स्पर्शाः। १।७

वा प्रा। (ऋत १।२) किति खिति गिति घिति ङिति कवर्गः। चिति छिति जिति झिति ञिति चवर्गः। टिति ठिति डिति ढिति णिति टवर्गः। तिति थिति दिति धिति निति तवर्गः। पिति फिति बिति भिति मिति पवर्गः। इति स्पर्शाः। ८।८-१३

प्र। वर्गवर्णाः स्पर्शसंज्ञाः कथितास्तन्त्रवेदिभिः। १।२१

"Sparśa" is used in its technical sense in the following stanza of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa:

स चिन्तयन् द्व्यक्षरमेकदाम्भ-
स्युपाश्रृणोद् द्विर्गदितं वचो विभुः ।
स्पर्शेषु यत् षोड़शमेकविंशं
निष्किञ्चनानां नृप यद्धनं विदुः ॥ २।९।६

'One day, while meditating, he heard in the water close by a word of two syllables uttered twice—that which is the sixteenth and that which is the twenty-first among the mutes (constituting the two syllables, and the whole word meaning) O King, that which is regarded as the wealth of the penniless.'

VARGA.

"Varga" literally means group or series. In the Śrauta Sūtras and Prātiśākhyas the word is used to denote a class or series of mutes or consonants. Thus we find in ĀŚS.: śparseṣu svavargyam uttamam i. 2. 16, 'before a mute, *m* is changed into the last consonant of the series of that mute'. In RP. we find "varge varge ca prathamāv aghoṣau" i. 12, 'in each series (of mutes) the first two letters are aghoṣa', ṛkāra-lkārāv atha ṣaṣṭha ūṣmā jihvāmūlīyāh prathamaś ca vargah" i. 41. 'ṛ, l, the sixth ūṣman and the first series of mutes are produced at the root of the tongue'. It is worthy of note in this connexion that RP. invariably adds *-kāra* to the name of the sound and then puts in 'varga', thus it speaks of cakāra-varga (i. 42., xii. 1), ṭakāra-varga (i. 43, v. 11), and takāra-varga (i. 44. v. 11). In v. 42 etc.*

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* न मध्यमै स्पर्शवर्गैर्व्यवेतम् । (न नमन्ति नकारमृकार-रेफ-षकारा मध्यमैः स्पर्शवर्गैर्व्यवहितम् । चवग-टवर्ग-तवर्गा मध्यमाः । उवटः ।)

प्रथमे स्पर्शवर्गे ६।२८, नान्योन्येन मध्यमाः स्पर्शवर्गाः संयुज्यन्ते । १२।३

त्रिभिश्च मध्यमैर्वर्गैः शषसैश्च व्यवाये न । महाभाष्य १।१।९

RP. speaks of "sparśa-varga." TP. and CA. invariably use the shorter forms ka-varga (TP. ii. 35, CA. i. 20 com.), ca-varga (TP. ii. 36, CA. i. 7), ṭa-varga (TP. ii. 37, CA. ii. 14), ta-varga (TP. ii. 38, CA. ii. 26) and pa-varga (TP. ii. 39, CA. i. 25 com.). VP. uses both takāra-varga and ta-varga:

तकारवर्गश्चकारवर्गे चकारवर्गम् ४।९६, तवर्गे च ३।९३, स्ववर्गीये चानुत्तमे ४।११७, (स्फोटनं च ककारवर्गे वा स्पर्शात् ४।१६५)।

TP. distinctly says: prathamo vargottaro vargākhyā i. 27, 'a first mute followed by the word *varga* is the name of the series'. VP. is not so clear, it says: prathama-grahaṇe vargam i. 64. 'by the mention of the first (mute) of a series ("followed by the word *varga*" Uvaṭa) is to be understood the entire series'.

Pāṇini goes a step farther and shortens "varga" into "u" which is merely the Samprasāraṇa form of "va", the first syllable of "varga." He distinctly lays down that a letter with an indicatory 'u' stands for both itself and its homogeneous letters ("aṇ udit savarṇasya cāpratyayah i. 1. 69). In exactly the same way an indicatory long *ū* in the Dhātupāṭha denotes that the root admits the union-vowel *i* optionally (P. vii. 2. 44), and an indicatory short *u* denotes that it does so before the suffix *-ktvā* (P. vii. 2. 56), because *u* and *ū* are the reduced forms of *vā* denoting optionality.

RT. goes farther still and uses the first letter of each varga to denote the varga, and in its rule 13 uses 'rga' for 'varga'.

K., Hc., Su. and PR. use "varga".

J., Śāk. and Mu. follow Pāṇini.

HN., as usual, prefixes Viṣṇu to "varga" and uses

Viṣṇuvarga as the generic term for "varga". In the case of the specific vargas, however, it uses "ṭa-varga" etc. (i. 102).

ऋप्रा। [तेषामाद्याः स्पर्शाः।] पञ्च ते पञ्च वर्गाः। १।८

तैप्रा। स्पर्शानामानुपूर्व्येण पञ्चपञ्च वर्गाः। प्रथमद्वितीयतृतीय-चतुर्थोत्तमाः। १।१०-११, प्रथमो वर्गोत्तरो वर्गाख्या। १।२७

वाप्रा। प्रथमग्रहणे वर्गम्। १।६४

वर्गादौ प्रथमवर्णग्रहणे वर्गं जानीयात्। उवटः। वर्गस्य प्रथमाक्षर-ग्रहणे सम्पूर्णो वर्गः प्रत्येतव्यः। अनन्तः।

[चतुरध्यायिका। न टवर्गस्य चवर्गे कालविप्रकर्षः।...२।३९]

का। ते वर्गाः पञ्च पञ्च पञ्च। १।१।१०

वर्गशब्दः समुदायवाची सजात्यपेक्षया। टीका।

हे। पञ्चको वर्गः। १।१।१२

सजातीय-समुदायो वर्गः, स च वर्गः कवर्गादिभेदेनाष्टधा वर्ण-समाम्नाये केवलिकादिशास्त्रेषु प्रसिद्धः। तत्र च यः पञ्चसंख्यात्वेन व्यवस्थितस्तस्येह वर्गसंज्ञा। लघुन्यासः।

मान्तेषु कादिवर्णेषु क-च-ट-त-प-संज्ञकाः।
पञ्चभिः पञ्चभिर्वर्णैर्वर्गाः पञ्च प्रकीर्त्तिताः॥ हैमप्रकाशः।

सु। क-च-ट-त-पादीनां पञ्चकानां वर्गसंज्ञा प्रतीतैव। १।१।३ वृत्तिः।

प्र। कादिमान्ताः पञ्चपञ्चावच्छिन्ना वर्गसंज्ञकाः। १।२०

ह। ते मान्ताः पञ्च पञ्च विष्णुवर्गाः। १।१९

VARNA AND SAVARNA.

"Varṇa" primarily means 'colour', then it came to mean 'sound, letter of the alphabet', probably because the letters when written were covered with a coating of colour. Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh says in his article on Aspects of Pre-Pāṇinean Sanskrit Grammar (B. C. Law Com. Vol. p. 338): "This meaning of the word *varṇa* should have been developed first in the Brāhmaṇas of the Sāmaveda in which we constantly come across locutions like *rathantaravarṇā ṛc* 'verse which gets the *colour* of Rathantara Sāman in chant'. In these passages the word *varṇa* is visibly changing its meaning from 'colour' to 'sound' of melody. Thus gradually the 'sound of melody' became 'sound in general'." It may be mentioned in this connexion that "varṇa" generally comes immediately after "svara" and works like the Nāradí Śikṣā mention the different colours of different melodies.* As has already been pointed out (p. 182) varṇa is sometimes used in the sense of 'syllable' also.

In Tantra literature "arṇa" is often used in the sense of 'varṇa'. The *v* of "varṇa" was probably first dropped due to the exigencies of metre and thus "arṇa" came to be used for "varṇa". Writers probably thought that since *udaka*, *daka* and *ka* mean the same thing why should not "varṇa" and "arṇa" have the same meaning? Gradually "arṇa"

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*पद्मपत्रप्रभः षड्ज ऋषभः शुकपिञ्जरः ।
कनकाभस्तु गान्धारो मध्यमः कुन्दसप्रभः ॥
पञ्चमस्तु भवेत् कृष्णः पीतकं धैवतं विदुः ।
निषादः सर्ववर्णः स्यादित्येताः स्वरवर्णताः ॥
नारदी शिक्षा । ८।१-२

On Varṇa see Goldstücker's Panini, pp. 25 ff.

came to be used for "varṇa" in all its senses. Thus in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (ii. 6. 45) "adbhutārṇa" is used in the sense of 'āścaryarūpa'.

In PR. "arṇa" is a special technical term denoting any letter except *th*, *y* and vowels of suffixes. Thus "arṇa" corresponds roughly to padānta of Pāṇini and other systems (according to Sanskrit grammarians members of compounds are regarded as pada, even though they have dropped their case-endings). "Arṇa" would thus appear to be merely a disguised form of "anta".

प्रत्ययथ्यस्वरादन्योऽर्णः स्यात्। प्र १।३१

प्रत्ययथकार-प्रत्यययकार-प्रत्ययस्वरादन्योऽर्णः स्यात्। स च प्रकृति-स्वरः प्रकृतिथकारः प्रकृतियकारो व्यञ्जनञ्च गृह्यते। वृत्तिः।

PR. has very cleverly added *th* to *y* and *ac* of Pāṇini. Because the great grammarian does not take into account *th* in framing the rule "yaci bham" i. 4. 18, he has to prescribe the āgama *th* in his rule "ṣaṭ-kati-katipaya-caturāṃ thuk" v. 2. 51, instead of the suffix *tha* as in the immediately preceding rule "thaṭ ca cchandasi", for if *tha* be prescribed as a suffix in the case of *catur* and *ṣaṣ* they will be regarded as padas before the suffix according to "svādiṣ-vasarvanāmasthāne" i. 4. 17 and the resulting forms would be 'catuṣṭha' and 'ṣaddha'.*

"Savarṇa" goes back to RV. where it is used in the sense of 'having the same colour or appearance, similar'.

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*अथ किमर्थं थट्थुकौ पृथक् क्रियेते न सर्वं थडेव वा स्यात् थुगेव वा ?
थट्थुकोः पृथक्करणं पदान्तविधि-प्रतिषेधार्थम्।

थट्थुकोः पृथक्करणं क्रियते पदान्तविधिप्रतिषेधार्थम्। पदान्तविध्यर्थं पदान्तप्रतिषेधार्थच। पर्णमयानि पञ्चथानि भवन्ति। रथः सप्तथः। पदान्तस्येति नलोपो यथा स्यात्। पदान्तप्रतिषेधार्थम्। षष्ठः। पदान्तस्येति जश्त्वं मा भूत्। इह चतुर्थ इति पदान्तस्येति विसर्जनीयो मा भूदिति। महाभाष्य ५।२।५१

In grammatical literature the word means 'having the same, *i.e.*, similar, sound, homophone'. Pāṇini makes provision for the change of "samāna" to "sa" in a Bahuvríhi compound in the rule "jyotir-janapada—" vi. 3. 85. Later commentators, like Durga, think that Karmadhāraya will serve our purpose.

RP. (i. 55) defines Savarṇa thus:

स्थानप्रश्लेषोपदेशे स्वराणां
ह्रस्वादेशे ह्रस्वदीर्घौ सवर्णौ ॥

'In the statement regarding the place of articulation as also of contraction of vowels, we are to understand the homogeneous vowels—long and short, even when only the short vowel is mentioned.'

TP. (i. 3) is very simple in its definition:

द्वे द्वे सवर्णे ह्रस्वदीर्घे ।
इयमन्वर्थसंज्ञा । सवर्णत्वं नाम सादृश्यमुच्यते । त्रिभाष्यरत्नम्

VP. is very explicit and appears to include for the first time consonants also within the scope of "savarṇa":

समानस्थानकरणास्यप्रयत्नः सवर्णः । १।४३

'Those sounds of which the place of articulation, the producing organ, and the effort in the mouth are identical are homogeneous.'

In "pratyaya-savarṇam mudi Śākaṭāyanah" VP. iii. 9, 'a visarjanīya followed by a sibilant is changed into the savarṇa of the following sound', the 'savarṇa' is identical with the original sound.

CA. uses the word without defining it. The commentary (i. 27), however, evidently follows Pāṇini and says:

मुखनासिके ये वर्णा उच्यन्ते तेऽनुनासिकाः ।
समानास्यप्रयत्ना ये ते सवर्णा इति स्मृताः ॥

Pāṇini's "tulyāsya-prayatnaṃ savarṇam" i. 1. 9 would appear to be an abbreviation of the definition as found in VP. In VP. "karaṇa" is superfluous, and in Pāṇini we miss "sthāna". Pāṇini evidently takes "āsya" in the sense of "āsyasthāna" and "prayatna" in the sense of "ābhyantara yatna". "Samāna" he paraphrases by "tulya", saving one syllable.* In the Mahābhāṣya various explanations are offered of "tulyāsya-prayatnam", but the one put forward first, *viz.*, "tulayā sammitaṃ tulyam. āsyam ca prayatnaś ca āsya-prayatnam. tulyāsyaṃ ca tulya-prayatnaṃ ca savarṇa-saṃjñam bhavati" appears to be the most plausible explanation.

C. uses "sasthāna" for "savarṇa"; cf. "halo jharāṃ jhari sasthāne lopo vā" vi. 4. 155 for Pāṇini's "jharo jhari savarṇe" viii. 4. 65. For "asavarṇa" he uses "asama"; cf. "dvitve pūrvasyāsame" v. 3. 84 corresponding to Pāṇini's "abhyāsasyāsavarṇe" vi. 4. 78.

K. follows TP. whose definition it amplifies thus:

तेषां द्वौ द्वावन्योऽन्यस्य सवर्णौ। १।१।४

समानो वर्णः सवर्णः, स पुनरस्मादेव वचनाद् भिन्नजात्योरपि ह्रस्व-दीर्घयोरुपपद्यते। टीका।

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*Pāṇini uses "samāna" in its Vedic sene of 'identical' (cf. samānaṃ cid ratham ātasthivāṃsā nānā havete RV. ii. 12. 8), *e.g.*, samāna-kartṛka iii. 1. 7, samāna-karmaka iii. 4. 48, samāna-tīrtha iv. 4. 107, samāna-pada viii. 4. 1, samāna-pāda viii. 3. 9, samāna-śabda iv. 3. 100, samānādhikaraṇa i. 2. 42 etc. "Tulya" is explained by Pāṇini as 'tulayā sammita' (iv. 4. 91) 'measured out equally by the balance' and used in the sense of 'similar'; e.g., tulyārtha ii. 3. 72, tulya-kriya iii. 1. 87, tulya-yoga ii. 2. 28. It is curious, therefore, that Pāṇini should use "tulya" here instead of "samāna" in the sense of 'identical'.

Since K. restricts *savarṇatva* to vowels it uses "savarga" 'of the same group of consonants' for the consonants.

J. paraphrases Pāṇini's rule and lays down "sasthāna-kriyaṃ svam" i. 1. 4 using "sa" for "tulya", saving one syllable and "sva" for "savarṇa" saving two syllables. It will be noticed that J.'s term "sva" is made up of *s* from the first syllable and *va* from the second syllable of "savarṇa". The word is very appropriate since "sva" literally means 'belonging to one's self, one's kin' and thus practically means the same thing as savarṇa, but J. has been anticipated by RT. which uses "sva" in very nearly the same sense in the rule "sparśah sve" 25. For "āsya" J. substitutes the more definite "sthāna" and "prayatna" is replaced by "kriya" with the saving of one syllable. Śāk. has "svah sthānāsyaikye" i. 1. 6 where "āsya" is used in the sense of "āsya-prayatna". The commentary says:

आस्यं मुखम् ओष्ठात् प्रभृति प्राक् काकलकात्। तत्र भवम्। स्पृष्टादिप्रयत्नपञ्चकमास्यम्।

Hc. improves on his predecessor by framing the rule "tulya-sthānāsya-prayatnah svah" i. 1. 17. Both "sthāna" and "āsya-prayatna" are explicitly mentioned here.

Sam. uses "savarṇa" in the rule "savarṇenāg dírghaś ca" i. 85 without defining it. The Vṛtti says:

ऌकारस्य दीर्घस्याप्रयोगादष्टावाकारादयो द्विशः सवर्णाः।

Goyícandra explains:

समानो वर्णः सवर्णः। समानः सदृशः। अकारादीनां ह्रस्वानां ह्रस्वैः सह दीर्घाणां च दीर्घैः सह समानता विद्यत एव। ह्रस्वानां दीर्घैः सह दीर्घाणां च ह्रस्वैः सह सवर्णतास्ति न वेति सन्देहनिरासार्थमाह—

लृकारस्येत्यादि।...द्वौ द्वौ भूत्वा सवर्णा भवन्तीत्यर्थः। एतच्चोपलक्षणम्, उच्चारणस्थानकृतमेव सवर्णत्वमुपलक्षणीयम्, तेन प्लुतैरपि सह सवर्णतावगन्तव्या।

Intent on having a monosyllable like J. and unable to use "sva" which is reserved for "hrasva", Vopadeva uses the last syllable "rṇa" for "savarṇa" in his rule "ñapo'k samo rṇa ṛk ca" 6 and since he specifically lays down that similar mutes are homogeneous with one another and similar simple vowels are homogeneous with one another, he defines 'similarity' as 'having the same place of articulation' (sāmyan tvekasthānatvam).

As a follower of K., Sār. restricts *savarṇatva* to vowels, but goes a step farther in admitting the Plutas within the fold of "savarṇa" and says:

ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतभेदाः सवर्णाः। १।१।३

Padmanābha's definition is similar to that of Vopadeva:

वर्ग्यस्वरौ सजातीयौ सवर्णौ। १।१।१५

PR., as usual, follows K. and restricts the term "savarṇa" to the simple vowels:

सस्थानाकौ सवर्णः स्यात् सावर्ण्यमृलृवर्णयोः। १।१।९

HN. also follows K., but is not satisfied with mere "varṇa" but wants to drag in Ātman (soul), so its term for "savarṇa" is "ekātmaka". Thus after mentioning the ten simple vowels (daśāvatāra) HN. says:

तेषां द्वौ द्वावेकात्मकौ। १।१।४

Originally "savarṇa" appears to have been formed after "samānākṣara" and was, therefore, restricted to the simple vowels.

For "varṇa" HN. uses Rāma.

KĀRA.

The element *kāra* appears to occur for the first time with letters of the alphabet in AB. xxv. 7:

तेभ्योऽभितप्तेभ्यस्त्रयो वर्णा अजायन्त—अकार उकारो मकार इति। तानेकधा समभरत्। तदेतदोमिति।

"From them when brooded over the three sounds were born: the letter *a*, the letter *u*, and the letter *m*. Them he brought together; that made (the word) *om*." KEITH.

This *-kāra* has evidently been formed after the analogy of *kāra* in words like "vaṣaṭ-kāra, hiṃ-kāra, oṃ-kāra" etc. In the case of these latter words forms of the root *kṛ* are also used with vaṣaṭ, him, om etc.; thus we have vaṣaṭkaroti, vaṣaṭ-kṛta, hiṃ-karoti, hiṃ-kṛta, anoṃ-kṛta etc. So when we find kāra used with vaṣaṭ, him, om etc., we are inclined to regard kāra as formed with the agent suffix *-aṇ* as in the case of the well-known words "kumbha-kāra", "nagara-kāra" etc., vaṣaṭ-kāra meaning 'the maker of the sound vaṣaṭ', thence 'the sound vaṣaṭ'. Though we never come across forms of the root *kṛ* used with the letters of the alphabet still the element kāra was extended by analogy to these cases also, a-kāra meaning the letter which produces the a-sound, ma-kāra the letter which produces the m-sound and so on. It is, however, better to regard *-kāra* in these cases as formed with the verbal suffix *-ghañ* in the sense of action, pronunciation, sound, and then compounded with vaṣaṭ, him, om, a, ma etc., so that 'vaṣaṭ-kāra' means the sound 'vaṣaṭ', 'a-kāra' means the sound *a* and so on. Thus -kāra came gradually to be regarded as a pleonastic suffix and so we find in VP. i. 18-19:

ओङ्कारं वेदेषु। अथकारं भाष्येषु।

There is also the well-known stanza about the meaning of the particle eva:

अयोगमन्ययोगञ्च अत्यन्तायोगमेव च।
व्यवच्छिनत्ति वर्ण्यस्य एवकारस्त्रिधा मतः॥

Svāhā-kāra occurs in AB. xxiv. 1: "anto vai svāhā-kārah". With this we may compare "anto vai svar" Ib.

After laying down "upadiṣṭā varṇāh" i. 34 VP. says:

निर्देश इतिना। कारेण च। अ-व्यवहितेन व्यञ्जनस्य। १।३६-३८

In TP. (i. 16-17) we find similar rules:

वर्णः कारोत्तरो वर्णाख्या। अकारव्यवेतो व्यञ्जनानाम्। १।१६-१७

Vyāsa Śikṣā 13 lays down that "varṇa" is added to simple vowels. In TP. i. 20 we find:

ह्रस्वो वर्णोत्तरस्त्रयाणाम्।

'A short vowel with *varṇa* after it is the name of the three (varieties—short, long and prolated).' Acc. to Whitney "varṇa", in this case, indicates only the 'colour' or phonetic complexion of the vowel, without regard to its length. As Whitney points out since "TP. acknowledges no protracted *ṛ*, and neither a long nor a protracted *l*, it does not admit the compounds *ṛvarṇa* and *lvarṇa*."

Kātyāyana has the Vārttika "varṇāt kārah" iii. 3. 108. 3. On this Kaiyaṭa remarks:

वर्णवाचिनो वर्णानुकरणादित्यर्थः। बहुलग्रहणात् क्वचिन्न भवति, "अस्य च्वौ" [७।४।३२] इति यथा। तथा क्वचिद् वर्णसमुदायानुकरणादपि—एवकार इति। कार-प्रत्ययस्य ककारस्येत्संज्ञा प्रयोजनाभावान्न भवति। ननु करणं कारः। अस्य कारः अकार इत्येवं ध्सियति। नैतदन्ति। एवं हि विज्ञायमाने अकार-करणमित्यादि न

सिध्येत्। कारप्रत्ययस्य कृदतिङ् [३।१।९३] इत्यधिकाराद् धात्व-विहितत्वेऽपि कृत्संज्ञा। ततस्तदन्तस्य प्रातिपदिकत्वाद्विभक्त्युत्पत्तिः।

Nāgeśa says:

कृत्संज्ञकेति। बाहुलकादित्यन्ये।

The suffix *-kāra* is not added to the Ayogavāhas because they are not read in the varṇasamāmnāya:

नानुस्वार-यम-विसर्जनीय-जिह्वामूलीयोपध्मानीयाः। वाप्रा १।४१

Though *-kāra* is added in the sense of 'varṇa' there is some distinction between the two. *Kāra* can be added to any letter, vowel or consonant, short or long, but *varṇa* is used only with the letters read in the Śiva-sūtras. Thus we can have akāra, ākāra, ikāra, íkāra etc., but we can only have avarṇa, ivarṇa etc. and not āvarna, ivarna etc. Then again "akāra" means the short *a*, but "avarṇa" means all *a*'s, short, long, and prolated.

See Goldstücker's Pāṇini, pp. 26ff.

जै। वर्णात् कारः। ४।२।५६

शा। वर्णात् कारः। ३।४।१२६

बहुलमित्येव। तेन 'अभिनिष्टानम्' इत्यादौ न भवति, एवकार इत्यादौ च भवति। रेफ इति "रियः फः" इति सिद्धम्। रकार इत्य पीष्यते। चिन्तामणिः।

हे। वर्णाव्ययात् स्वरूपे कारः। ७।२।१५६

वर्णेभ्योऽव्ययेभ्यश्च स्वरूपार्थवृत्तिभ्यः स्वार्थे कारप्रत्ययो भवति। अकारः। इकारः। ककारः। खकारः। ककारादिष्वकार उच्चारणार्थः। अव्ययः। ओङ्कारः। स्वाहाकारः। स्वधाकारः। वषट्कारः। हन्तकारः। नमस्कारः। चकारः। इतिकारः। एवकारः। हुङ्कारः फूत्कारः। सीत्कारः। सूत्कारः। ननु यथा हुङ्कृतिः फूत्कृति-सूत्कृतम् सीत्कृतम् इति भवन्ति तथा कारशब्देन घञन्तेन समास ओङ्कारादयो भविष्यन्ति। सत्यम्। किन्तु 'ओङ्कारम् उच्चारयति' 'वषट्कारम्

अभिधत्ते' 'हुङ्कारं करोती' त्यादि न सिध्यति। स्वरूप इति किम्। अः विष्णुः, इः कामः, कः ब्रह्मा, खमाकाशम्, ओँ ब्रह्म, वषडिन्द्राय, स्वाहाग्नये, स्वधा पितृभ्य इत्यर्थपरतायां न भवति। प्रायोऽनुवृत्तेरन्यत्रापि भवति। मन एव मनस्कारः। अहमेवाहङ्कारः। बृहद्वृत्तिः। ओङ्कारमुच्चारयतीति। यद्यत्र कृ इत्यस्य कार इति निष्पद्यते तदा ओमिति करणस्य किमुच्चारणमिति न सङ्गच्छते। लघुन्यासः।

सु। वर्णात् कारः। ५।४।२२९

प्र। वर्णात् कारः। स्वरात् तश्च। ७।१।२५४-५

ह। वर्णस्वरूपे रामः। १।३७

वर्णस्य स्वरूपे मात्रे वाच्ये रामशब्दो देयः। तस्यैकपरिग्रहताख्यातेः यथा अराम इराम इत्यादिः। अत् इत् इत्यादि पाणिनेः। अकारा इत्यादि च कलापस्य। यथा च कराम इत्यादि ककार इत्यादि तु प्राचाम् ररामस्तु रेफ इति।

श्रुतिशतमपि भूयः शीलितं भारतं वा
विरचयति तथा नो हन्त सन्तापशान्तिम्।
अयि सपदि यथायं केलिविश्रान्तकान्ता-
वदनकमलवल्गत्कान्तिसान्द्रो नकारः॥
भामिनीविलास २।३३

मौनं कालविलम्बश्च प्रयाणं भूमिदर्शनम्।
भ्रूकुट्यन्यमुखी वार्त्ता नकारः षड्विधः स्मृतः॥
सम्पत् सरस्वती सत्यं सन्तानः सदनुग्रहः।
सत्ता सुकृतसम्भारः सकाराः सप्त दुर्लभाः॥
जामाता जठरं जाया जातवेदा जलाशयः।
पूरिता नैव पूर्यन्ते जकाराः पञ्च दुर्लभाः॥
मनो मधुकरो मेघो मानिनी मदनो मरुत्।
मा मदो मर्कटो मत्स्यो मकारा दश चञ्चलाः॥

REPHA.

"Repha" is the name of the letter *r* in grammatical literature. It is found in the Śrauta Sūtras, Prātiśākhyas and works on grammar posterior to Pāṇini. The word is formed from the root *riph* 'to snarl' (ripha katthana-yuddha-nindā-hiṃsādāneṣu—Dhātupāṭha vi. 26). As Whitney points out "it is the sole example of a specific name for an alphabetic element of its class". The derivative "riphita" is found in VS. in the sense of 'pronounced with a guttural roll as the letter *r*'. In the Prātiśākhyas the word means 'rhotacized'.

"Viriphita" occurs in AB. several times:

यद्वै मदं यद्विरिफितं यद्विच्छन्दाः·····तच्चतुर्थस्याह्नो रूपम् ।···आग्निं न स्ववृक्तिभिरिति चतुर्थस्याह्न आज्यं भवति वैमदं विरिफितं विरिफितस्य ऋषेश्चतुर्थेऽहनि चतुर्थस्याह्नो रूपम् । २१।४, कुह श्रुत इन्द्रः कस्मिन्नद्येति सूक्तं वैमदं विरिफितं विरिफितस्य ऋषेश्चतुर्थेऽहनि चतुर्थस्याह्नो रूपम् । २१।५

The sense of "viriphita" in the above passage is not clear. Keith translates: that which is by Vimada, *that which is sounded*, that which has various metres,.....these are the symbols of the fourth day..... 'With offerings for ourselves, Agni' is the Ājya of the fourth day; it is by Vimada and *is sounded* , being of the seer *who is sounded*, on the fourth day it is the symbol of the fourth day... 'There is Indra famed, in what to-day?' is the hymn by Vimada, *which is sounded;* being of the seer *who is sounded*, on the fourth day it is a symbol of the fourth day." "Viriphita" appears to have been used here in the sense of 'without the

sound *r*'. (Cf. "ariphita" 'not rhotacized' found in the Prātiśākhyas.) The root *riph* is used by Āśvalāyana in the rule: visarjanīyo 'natyakṣaropadho riphyate i. 5. 10, 'a visarjanīya preceded by any vowel except *a* and *ā* is rhotacized.' In the next rule "rephin" is used in the sense of 'rajāta visarjanīya': itaraś ca rephī, 'and the other visarjanīya (*i.e.*, a visarjanīya preceded by avarṇa) is also rhotacized, provided it is a 'rephin' or 'ra-jāta visarjanīya'.

VP. derives "repha" from *r* with the suffix *epha*: ra ephena ca i. 39. The corresponding rule in TP. is "ephas tu rasya" i. 19. Kātyāyana has a Vārttika "rād iphah" iii. 3. 108. 4. VP. and TP. add the suffix to *r*, hence the suffix is *epha;* the Vārttikakāra adds it to the a-stem *ra*, hence the suffix is *ipha*. And because the Vārttika is found under "rogākhyāyāṃ ṇvul bahulam" iii. 3. 108, the suffix is regarded as a kṛt suffix.

तै प्रा। [वर्णः कारोत्तरो वर्णाख्या। अकारव्यवेतं व्यञ्जनानाम्। १।१।७८] एफस्तु रस्य। १।१९

र इत्यस्य व्यञ्जनस्य स्वरूपपूर्वक एफशब्द आख्या। संज्ञायाः··· निर्वचनम्··रिफ्यते विपाट्यते वस्त्रादिपाटनध्वनिवदुच्चार्यत इति रेफः। तथाच याज्यान्तविसर्जनीयस्यादेशविधावाहाश्वलायनः—विसर्जनीयोऽनत्यक्षरोपधो रिफ्यते इति। तत्रापवादादेव कारशब्दाख्यानिवृत्तेस्तत्प्रतिषेधो न कर्तव्य इति तुशब्दार्थः। यद्वा रादिफः [३।३।१०८।४] इत्यकारसहितादेव स्वरूपादिफप्रत्ययो विधीयते, न तु केवलादिति वैदिकाभरणम्।

वा प्रा। [निर्देश इतिना। कारेण च। अ-व्यवहितेन व्यञ्जनस्य। ३६-३८।] स्वरैरपि। र एफेन च। १।७९-४०

कात्यायन। [इकशतिपौ धातुनिर्देशे। वर्णात् कारः।] रादिफः ३।३।१०८।४

। हेरादेफः ७।२।१५७

रशब्दादेफप्रत्ययो वा भवति। रेफः। प्रायोवचनाद् रकार इत्यपि।

सं। रादेफः। तद्धितपरिशिष्ट १२५१

राद्वर्णात् कारप्रत्ययं बाधित्वा एफः स्यात्। वृत्तिः।

सु। रादेफः। ५।४।२३०

प्र। रादेफः। ७।१२५६

रेफ उल्वणः। वर्णोऽधमश्च। रकारादीनि नामानीत्यार्षम्॥ वृत्तिः। उल्वण इति रेफविशेषणं स्पष्ट इत्यर्थः।...

रकारादीनि नामानि शृण्वतो मम पार्वती।
मनः प्रसन्नतां याति रामनामाभिशङ्कया॥ गूढप्रकाशिका।

In Rāja-taran·giṇī vi. 39 "repha" is used in its ordinary sense:

तस्मै मितधनार्हाय बहुमूल्यार्पणान्नृपः।
रेफे सफारं वणिजा कारितं निश्चिकाय सः॥

'From the fact that a large sum of money had been paid as fee to him who deserved a limited amount, the king concluded that the merchant had got the letter *r* changed into *s*.'

In the following two stanzas from the Yogavāsiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇa "repha" appears to have been used in its primary sense of 'a burring sound'.

ताराक्रन्दरणद्रेफप्रलापालापलुब्धया।
मात्रा गृहीतं चिबुके नवव्यञ्जनलाञ्छिते॥ उपशम ४४।२७

(तारेण उच्चतरेण आक्रन्देन रणन्तः रेफा द्विरेफा इव प्रलापे अनर्थकव्यक्तवाक्ये दीर्घस्वरालापे च लुब्धया आसक्तया। टीका।)

'Held by his mother on the chin marked with the soft downs of fresh youth—his mother who was intent on the

utterance of incoherent words ringing with the burring sounds of loud lamentation.'

धुनानं वल्लकीतन्त्रीं करपल्लवलीलया ।
मृदुरेफं रणद्रेफामलिश्रेणिमिव द्रुमम् ॥ उपशम ४६।९

'With the graceful movements of his hand delicate like fresh foliage stirring with a soft sound the strings of the lute vocal with music and so appearing like a tree flapping away with a soft sound the strings of humming bees.'

In the following stanza from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa "repha" appears to have been used in the sense of svara or note of music.

हृद्यङ्ग धर्मं स्तनयोर्मुरारे-
ऋतञ्च सत्यञ्च मनस्यथेन्दुम् ।
प्रियञ्च वक्षस्यरविन्दहस्तां
कण्ठे च सामानि समस्तरेफान् ॥ ८।२०।२५
(अङ्ग हे राजन् । समस्तान् रेफांश्च शब्दान् । श्रीधरस्वामी ।)

SAMKHYA AND SAS

Acc. to Pāṇini, not only the numerals 'eka, dvi' etc., but also the words 'bahu' and 'gaṇa', as also words ending in the Taddhita suffixes -vatu and -*ḍati* are comprised within the term "saṃkhyā". Of these again numerals ending in ṣ and *n*, as also words ending in the taddhita suffix *ḍati* are known as "ṣaṣ," *ṣas* being taken as the type of such words. Though K. uses technical terms like "śraddhā", "agni", "nadī", etc., it has got no terms corresponding to Pāṇini's Saṃkhyā and ṣaṣ. So far as declension is con-

cerned, *ṣaṣ* is required practically for one rule only and K thought it would be "wasteful and ridiculous excess" to have a new technical term for a single rule. So having in mind a rule like Pāṇini's "ṣṇāntā ṣaṭ" K. frames the rule "saṃkhyāyāh ṣṇāntāyah" ii. 1. 75. The fact that K. brings together numerals ending in *ṣ* and *n* in this rule and has a separate rule "caturah" for the numeral ending in *r* which is excluded by Pāṇini and his followers from the purview of "ṣaṣ" would lead one to suppose that the technical term "ṣaṣ" was used by the predecessors of Pāṇini also. C. follows K. and avoids these two technical terms using "saṃkhyā *ṣ n*" everytime. Following the Bhaṣya * C. also uses the atideśa-rules: kati-gaṇau tadvat. vatoh. iv. 1. 33-34. J. follows Pāṇini and uses "syi" containing both *s* and *y* of "saṃkhyā" with a euphonic *i* for "saṃkhyā". For "ṣaṣ" J. has "il". Could "il" have been suggested by *ḍati*, the *i* being placed first with the Vedic and Prakrit inter-vocal form of *ḍ* added to it? Śāk. uses the technical term "saṃkhyā" only, ignoring "ṣaṣ" which is necessary for only a very few cases in declension. Hc. has certain atideśa rules and so separate technical terms are unnecessary. Vopadeva follows Hc. Sam. uses pañcādi (vi. 400) for Pāṇini's "ṣaṣ" (i. 1. 24.) Padmanābha does not follow Pāṇini in this particular instance. PR. follows Pāṇini and uses both the terms "samkhyā" and "ṣaṣ". HN. has no special technical terms corresponding to these.

"Du" appears to have been another ancient term for "ṣaṣ". In the Mahābhāṣya we find: kā punar ḍu-saṃjñā (i. 4. 1)? "Du" has evidently been formed with the *ḍ* of *ḍati* along with a euphonic *u*.

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* अथवा नेदं संज्ञाकरणम्। तद्वदतिदेशोऽयम्। बहुगणवतुडतयः संख्यावद्भवन्तीति।

पा। बहु-गण-वतु-डति संख्या। ष्णान्ता षट्। डति च। १।१।२३-२५। (भूर्यादीनां निवृत्त्यर्थं संख्या-संज्ञा विधीयते। काशिका।)

का। कति-गण-वन्तूनां संख्यावत्। तद्धित ३३७

जै। स्यिः संख्या। बहुगणं भेदे। कसेऽध्यर्धम्। डडर्ध-प्राक्। घतुः। डतिः। ष्णान्ता चेल्। १।१।३३-३९

शा। घड्डति संख्या। बहुगणं भेदे। क-समासेऽध्यर्धः। अर्धपूर्वपदो डत्। १।१।९-१२

हे। [अनन्तः पञ्चम्याः प्रत्ययः। १।१।३८] डत्यतु संख्यावत्। बहु-गणं भेदे। क-समासेऽध्यर्धः। अर्धपूर्वपदः पूरणः। १।१।३९-४२

मु। संख्यावड् डत्यतुबहुगणा नेपि। १०२

प्र। संख्या एकद्विबह्वर्थडतिवन्त्वन्तका मताः। २।२९२

डत्यन्ताः सनकारान्ताः संख्याः षट्संज्ञकाः स्मृताः। २।३०७

AVASĀNA.

A rather remarkable technical term in the Pāṇini system is Avasāṇa which is defined as 'virāma' in the last rule of the first chapter of the Aṣṭādhyāyí. That the term was not coined by Pāṇini but had been current before his time is clear from its occurrences in Prātiśākhya literature. And in the sense of pause, it goes back to the Kauṣitaki-Brāhmaṇa. The word is derived from *ava* down and *so* to bind (*ava-so* meaning originally to unbind, unharness) and its primary meaning is a place where horses are unharnessed, resting place, then it came to mean conclusion, termination, end, pause. In grammar it means the end of a *word*, *verse* or *sentence*. Kātyāyana points out that the

definitions of the technical terms Saṃhitā and Avasāna (parah sannikarṣah saṃhitā, virāmo' vasānam i .4. 109-110) are unnecessary, as the words are too well known in current speech to need any elucidation (saṃhitāvasānayor loka-viditatvāt siddham i. 4. 110. 8).

The word is found in the sense of 'the end of a word' in RP. i. 15: "tasmād anyam avasāne tṛtíyaṃ Gārgya sparśam" where 'avasāne' is explained by Uvaṭa as '*padāvasāne* vartamānam'. In VP. "parāv avasāne" iii. 31 (avasāne sthite parityetasmin pade pratyaye—Uvaṭa, avasāne-sthite pari-śabde—Ananta), "supadāvasāna-varjam" iv. 22 etc., the word is used in the sense of 'pause'. The whole of chapter VII of this Prātiśākhya treats of words in pausa and begins with the adhikāra-rule: "athāvasānāni". TP. has "avasāne ra-visarjaníya-jihvāmulíyo-padhmāníyāh" xiv. 15 which is explained by the Tribhāsyaratna thus: padāvasāne vartamāno varṇo rephah etc. In "avasitam pūrvasya" xxi. 3 'avasita' is used in the sense of 'a letter at the end' and the rule is explained thus by Māhiṣeya: yad antyaṃ vyañjanam padāvasānavartítyarthah, tat pūrvasya svarasyān·gam bhavati. The same sense of "avasita" is found in RP. also. Cf. nāvasitam vi. 7 (na khalu padāvasāne vartamānaṃ rephāt paraṃ vyañjanaṃ krāmati i.e. dvitvam āpadyate. Uvaṭa). Cf. upadhā and upahita, upasarga and upasṛṣṭa. The word 'avasāna' also occurs in the Prātiśākhyas belonging to the Atharva school. Thus we find in CA. puruṣa ā babhūvā ityavasāne i. 70. ("In the passage *puruṣa ā babhūvā* the vowel is nasal before the pause".) In the commentary on CA. i. 8 'āvasānika' (at the end) is distinguished from 'padya' (at the end of a pada). In APr. we find "ityavasāneṣu cavaivā-

vayutāni cavāyogād vā'' 14 c where 'avasāneṣu' means 'in words standing in pausa'.

In RP. 'avasāna' is used in the sense of 'pause' in ''madhye' vasānaṃ tu catuṣpadānām'' xviii. 47. 'In the middle, however, is the pause in the case of stanzas with four pādas'. Similarly *ava-so* is used in the sense of making a pause in *dvābhyām avasyet tripadāsu pūrvam padena paścāt kvacid anyathaitat* xviii. 46.

It will be clear from the above that Pāṇini does not always choose the shortest term for his saṃjñās, but sometimes follows in the foot-steps of his predecessors. In the present case, though virāma contains a lesser number of syllables than *avasāna*, and though *virāma* must have been more easily understood in his day than *avasāna*, since he explains *avasāna* by *virāma*, still he uses *avasāna* throughout his work and not *virāma*. Cf. his use of *vibhāṣā* for *na vā*.

Of the later grammarians some use *virāma* which is generally defined as 'paravarṇābhāva' and save one syllable, others go a step farther and use *anta*, thereby effecting a saving of two syllables. K. which does not usually care much for mātrālāghava in the matter of its technical terms uses *virāma* as the better known term; e.g., *vā virāme* ii. 3. 62 corresponding to Pāṇini's *vāvasāne*. viii. 4. 56. Candra also uses *virāma* as being non-technical. Thus for Pāṇini's *khar-avasānayor visarjanīyaḥ* viii. 3. 15 Candra has *virāme visarjanīyaḥ* vi. 4. 70 and *khari* vi. 4. 21, and for Pāṇini's *vāvasāne* Candra has *vā virāme* vi. 4. 149. Hc., as usual, follows K. J. uses *anta* and Mu. follows J. Vopadeva also coins the term *pha* for both *virāma* and *vyañjana* (*haso' ntaḥ phaḥ* 86). *Phá* was evidently suggested to Vopodeva by *repha* which, being a con-

sonant, stands for all consonants, and which, being represented in writing by a stroke above the next letter, may easily mean pause also. Sār., though generally following K., uses *avasāna* in its rule *vāvasāne* vii. 66. Sam. uses avasāna in *vāvasāne hal dviś ca* i. 189, where Goyícandra says: "virāmo 'vasānam iti pūvācāryasya saṃjñā, athavā, prasiddha evāyam avasāna-śabdah samāptim abhidhatte" on which the Ṭippaṇi-kāra says: etad-vyākaraṇe' vasāna-saṃjñābhāvād āha—athaveti. In the kṛccheṣāvyaya-pāda, however, we find *mo binduh padavirāme* 783. Under i. 189 Goyícandra explains *avasāne* as *pada-virāme*.

RT. uses *ma* for *virāma* in its rule *unníce me* 54 which is thus explained in the commentary: *ucci-bhavati tat svaritam níce vā pratyaye virāme vā*.

नाट्यशास्त्रम्। यत्रार्थस्य समाप्तिः स्यात् स विराम इति स्मृतः।

वैदिकाभरणम्। इह द्विविधो विरामः—समाम्नायसिद्धः अशक्त्यादिहेतुकश्च। तत्र समाम्नायसिद्धोऽनुवाकान्तेषु तन्मध्यनित्यावसानेषु पदक्रमान्तेषु च भवति। इतरस्त्वनियतदेशः। (तै प्रा ५।१)

कातन्त्रव्याख्यासारः। विरामो हि द्विविधः—पदविरामो महाविरामश्च, ततो 'वृक्षान् आनय' इत्यादौ पदविरामे नकार-करणस्य फलमस्त्येव, 'आनय वृक्षान्' इत्यादौ महाविरामे लिङ्गसंज्ञायां सत्यां लिङ्गान्तनकारस्य [२।३।५६] इत्यनेन लोपश्च भवितुं पार्यते। (२।१।१)

KĀRYIN, KĀRYA AND NIMITTA.

Grammarians generally divide rules into three parts. That which undergoes a grammatical operation is known as *kāryin*, that which is the cause or condition of the operation is known as *nimitta*, and the operation itself is known as *kārya* or *vidheya*. Now since we always proceed from the known to the unknown and since the kāryin and nimitta

are more or less known to us and since it is the kārya or vidheya that supplies us with the new information about the kāryin and nimitta, generally, the kāryin, being best known to us, comes first, then the nimitta and last of all the kārya. This is the reason why in an Arthāntaranyāsa the statement bearing on the matter in hand comes first and the statement supporting it comes afterwards, and stanzas like the following are regarded as open to objection:

प्रतिकूलतामुपगते हि विधौ विफलत्वमेति बहुसाधनता ।
अवलम्बनाय दिनभर्तुरभून्न पतिष्यतः करसहस्रमपि ॥

Durgādāsa quotes a kārikā in his commentary on Mu. 21:

कार्यी कार्यं निमित्तञ्च त्रिभिः सूत्रमुदाहृतम् ।
कदाचित् कार्यिकार्याभ्यां क्वचित् कार्यनिमित्ततः ॥
यस्य निर्दिश्यते कार्यं स कार्यी गदितो बुधैः ।
क्रियते यत्तु तत् कार्यमादेशप्रत्ययागमम् ॥
यस्मात् परं परे यस्मिंस्तन्निमित्तं द्विधा मतम् ।
आकाङ्क्षायां तु सर्वेषामनुवृत्तिः परे भवेत् ॥

'A sūtra is composed of three parts—*kāryin*, *kārya* and *nimitta*. Sometimes it consists of the *kāryin* and *kārya* and sometimes of the *kārya* and *nimitta*. That for which some grammatical operation is prescribed is known as *kāryin* and the thing prescribed is known as *kārya* which may be a substitude (*ādeśa*), suffix (*pratyaya*) or augment (*āgama*). Nimittas again are divided into two classes. When an operation takes place after a nimitta it is known as *pūrva nimitta* and when an operation takes place when a nimitta follows it is known as *para nimitta*.'

In the first kārikā 'nimittam' is put after 'kāryam' for the sake of metre, for the *kārya* being the *vidheya* ought to come last and does generally come last, as in "akah savarṇe

dírghah'' vi. 1. 101, ''n·amo hrasvād aci n·amuṇ nityam'' viii. 3. 32, ''samānah savarṇe dírghíbhavati paraś ca lopam'' K. i. 2. 1, ''ād igecor ṇu-vrí'' Mu. 23 and so on. The commentators of K. say distinctly under ''n·er yah'' ii. 1. 24: kāryi nimittaṃ kāryam ityeṣa nirdeśakramah.'' Acc. to HN. the order is as follows: *pūrvanimitta, kāryin, kārya, paranimitta*, but generally the order mentioned by the commentator of K. is followed as being strictly logical, though sometimes for the sake of *vaicitrya* (variety) or for other causes the order is changed. Thus Pāṇini puts the *vidheya* 'vṛddhih' first in the very first rule of the Aṣṭādhyāyí: vṛddhir ād aic. In the next rule he follows the normal order and says ''ad en· guṇah''. Commentators point out the word vṛddhi denoting prosperity has been put first in violation of rules of logic and rhetoric, for the simple reason that it denotes increase, prosperity and is a fit and proper word to begin a work with. In VP. also ''vṛddhaṃ vṛddhih'' occurs at the end of each chapter. But Pāṇini again places the *vidheya* first in the rule ''apṛkta ekāl pratyayah'' i. 1. 9 where no reason is discernible. Similarly in K. we find ''smai sarvanāmnah'' ii. 1. 25, 'after a pronominal *a*-stem the dative singular ending *n·e* is changed into *smai*. Here the normal order has been reversed and the *vidheya* 'smai' put first merely to draw pointed attention to it. In the previous rule ''n·er yah'' the author says that *ya* is the substitute for *n·e* in the case of *a*-stems. This he follows up by ''smai sarvanāmnah''. In Mu. ''it kṛte'' 4 the *vidheya* has been placed first for no apparent reason*. In Pāṇini's ''iko yaṇ aci'' vi. 1. 77, the nimitta

*It is just possible that the reversal of the normal order here is due to a desire to avoid hiatus and *bandhaśaithilya*.

has been placed after the kārya, so also in K.'s "ivarṇo yam asavarṇe na ca paro lopyah" i. 2. 8 the *vidheya* is placed before the *nimitta*.

Patañjali says in the Mahābhāṣya (i. 1. 1):

अथवा पूर्वोच्चारितः संज्ञी, परोच्चारिता संज्ञा ।

कुत एतत् ?

सतो हि कार्यिणः कार्येण भवितव्यम् । तद् यथा—इतरत्रापि सतो मांसपिण्डस्य देवदत्त इति संज्ञा क्रियते ।

कथं वृद्धिरादैजिति ?

एतदेकमाचार्यस्य मङ्गलार्थं मृष्यताम् । माङ्गलिक आचार्यो महतः शास्त्रौघस्य मङ्गलार्थं वृद्धिशब्दमादितः प्रयुङ्क्ते । मङ्गलादीनि हि शास्त्राणि प्रथन्ते, वीरपुरुषकाणि भवन्त्यायष्मत्पुरुषकाणि च, अध्येतारश्च वृद्धियुक्ता यथा स्युरिति । सर्वत्र हि व्याकरणे पूर्वोच्चारितः संज्ञी, परोच्चारिता संज्ञा, अदेङ् गुण इति यथा ।

A commentator of KP. follows in the footsteps of Patañjali and says in justification of the use of the word "vṛddhih" first in the rule "vṛddhir ādeśasya" i. 1:

"आदेशो ननु वक्तुमाद्य उचितः शेषे कथं निर्मित-
ऐदौताविति निर्मितेऽप्यभिमते व्याप्त्यैव वा किं फलम् ।
सत्यं मङ्गलहेतवे निजकृते निर्विघ्नसिद्धीप्सुना
ग्रन्थारब्धिवधूपरिग्रहविधौ वृद्धिः कृतादावियम् ॥

Now in AŚS. and most of the Prātiśākhyas the *kāryin* is generally put in the nominative and the *kārya* in the accusative. Thus we find in AŚS.:

स्पर्शेषु स्ववर्ग्यमुत्तमम् । अन्तस्थासु तां तामनुनासिकाम् । रेफोष्मस्वनुस्वारम् । १।२।१६-१८

RP. lays down:

असावमुमिति तद्भावमुक्तं यथान्तरम् । १।५६

'When a word in the nominative and one in the accusative are used together, it is to be understood that the former is changed into or becomes the latter, and the change takes place acc. to *āntarya* or closeness of relationship of the two letters.'

TP. follows RP. and says:

अःकार आगम-विकारि-लोपिनाम्। १।२३

अं विकारस्य। १।२८

'A word in the nominative stands for an āgama, or for an element that undergoes alteration or elision.....The product of alteration is put in the accusative.'

The Vaidikābharaṇa explains:

अनेन पारिभाषिकाणां कृत्रिमाणां चागमादिवाचिनां शब्दानां विभक्तिविशेषो नियम्यते। अःकार इत्यकारविसर्जनीययोः समुदितयोर्व्याकरणसिद्धेन कारप्रत्ययेन निर्देशः। स खलु बहुलग्रहणानुवृत्त्या वर्णसमुदायादपि भवति। अःकारेण प्रथमा विभक्तिरुपलक्ष्यते।

अन्यत्र विद्यमानस्तु यो वर्णः श्रूयतेऽधिकः।
आगम्यमानतुल्यत्वात् स आगम इति स्मृतः॥
प्रकृतिस्थस्य शब्दस्य स्थाने यस्यापरो भवेत्।
सतो गुणान्तरोपेतः स विकारीह तत्समः॥
प्रकृतिस्थस्तु यः शब्दः संहितायां न दृश्यते।
तत्स्थाने च न शब्दोऽन्यः स लोपी नश्वरोपमः॥

एतेषामागमादीनां प्रथमा विभक्तिराख्या भवति। आगमस्य यथा—त्रपुमिथुपूर्वः शकारश्चपरः [५।४], हकारान्नणमपरान्नासिक्यम् [२१।१४] इति। विकारिणो यथा—असम्पूर्वोऽरमृकारः [५।९], लपरौ लकारम् [५।२५] इति। *लोपिनः—ईंपूर्वो मकारः [५।१२] इति।

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*Pāṇini uses the nominative with the lopin in *hal-n·y-ābbhyo dīrghat su-ti-sy-apṛktaṃ hal* vi. 1. 68.

अमिति द्वितीया विभक्तिरुपलक्ष्यते—

सविकारो यदन्यस्य स्थाने शब्दान्तरं स्मृतम् ।
द्वितीयया तु निर्देशे तस्यैव प्रत्ययो मतः ॥

यथा—असम्पूर्वोऽरमृकारः [५।९], उदात्तमनुदात्तवति [१०।१०]। अत्र द्वितीया विभक्तिः शब्दान्तरविकारस्यैव नियम्यते, न तु गुणविकारस्य ; तेन पूर्वस्वरोऽनुनासिकः [१५।१], अनुदात्तानां प्रचयः [२१।१०] इत्यादिगुणविधिषु निर्देश उपपद्यते ।

Similarly VP. has:

तमिति विकारः । १।१३३

Uvaṭa explains:

तमित्युत्सृष्टसर्वनामिका द्वितीया विभक्तिर्गृह्यते । द्वितीयया यो निर्दिश्यते स विकारः प्रत्येतव्यः । यथा, अनुस्वारं रोष्मसु मकारः [४।१] इति । मकारोऽनुस्वारं विकारमापद्यते । भाविभ्यः सः षं समानपदे [३।५६] इति । सकारः षकारं विकारमापद्यते ।

Similarly RT. has:

अवं वा ८९, रौ मम् ९३ (स्वरौ दीर्घमापद्येते—वृत्तिः) ।

In Pāṇini's system followed by most later grammarians the *kāryin* is put in the genitive and the *kārya* in the nominative. Thus Pāṇini lays down:

षष्ठी स्थानेयोगा १।१।४९

Curiously enough the identical rule is found in VP. (i. 136), though it is difficult to understand what purpose is served by the rule in this particular Prātiśākhya which uses the nominative with the *kārya* and the accusative with the *kāryin*. Most probably the rule has been framed for cases of elision. Contrast TP. i. 23, v. 11 ff. and Pāṇini vi. 1. 68 which is evidently a borrowed rule.

The Prātiśākhyas of the Atharva Veda follow this method. Thus we find in CA.:

सोष्मणि पूर्वस्यानुष्मा। १।९४, तेभ्यः पूर्वचतुर्थो हकारस्य २।७, नकारस्य शकारे ञकारः। २।१०

Similarly APr. has:

नकारस्य रेफः १९७, विसर्जनीयस्य मकारः २०३, अश्वादीनां मतौ दीर्घः २१०।

The following stanzas are current among the adherents of the Mugdhabodha school:

प्रथमा भवतीत्यर्थे द्वितीया च विशेषणे।
तृतीया सहयोगे च चतुर्थी च निमित्तके॥
पञ्चमी च तदुत्तरे षष्ठी सूत्रे ततः स्थाने।
सप्तमी च परे वाच्ये गम्ये चोपपदे क्वचित्॥

'When the nominative is used the verb bhavati is to be understood after it, the accusative has the sense of the adverb, the instrumental is used in connexion with or in the sense of *saha* (cf. *vṛddho yūnā* i. 2. 65), the dative is the final dative (cf. *it kṛte* Mu. 4), the ablative shows that some operation is to take place *after* it (cf. *tasmād ity uttarasya* i. 1. 67), the genitive has the sense of 'in the place of' (cf. *ṣaṣṭhī sthāneyogā* i. 1. 49), the locative means 'when such and such an element follows' (cf. *tasminniti nirdiṣṭe pūrvasya* i. 1. 66), 'in the sense of' (cf. *vṛtti-sarga-tāyaneṣu kramaḥ* i. 3. 38) and 'upapada' (cf. *tatropapadaṃ saptamīstham* iii. 1. 92, *karmaṇyaṇ* iii. 2. 1. etc.).

Sometimes in the same word in the same rule, the same vibhakti is used in different senses. Thus the Kāśikā explains the rule तद्धितार्थोत्तरपदसमाहारे च ii. 1. 51 thus:

तद्धितार्थे विषये उत्तरपदे च परतः समाहारे चाभिधेये दिक्संख्ये समानाधिकरणेन सुपा सह समस्येते।

Similarly the rule धुट्स्वराद् घुटि नुः K. ii. 2. 11 is thus explained by commentators:

धुटः पूर्वः स्वरात् परो नपुंसकलिङ्गस्य स्वरात् परो नुरागमो भवति । वृत्तिः । एकापीयं पञ्चम्यर्थवशात् पूर्वपरदिग्योगलक्षणा मन्तव्या । टीका ।

In the vṛtti on ii. 156 HN. says:

प्राङ्निमित्तं तथा कार्यी कार्यं परनिमित्तकम् ।
अत्र क्रमेण वक्तव्यं प्रायः सूत्रेषु सर्वतः ॥
क्रमाच्च पञ्चमी षष्ठी प्रथमा सप्तमी तथा ।
क्वचित् परनिमित्तस्य स्थाने विषयसप्तमी ॥
कार्यपूर्वे पञ्चमी स्यात् कार्यस्थाने तु षष्ठिका ।
कार्ये तु प्रथमा वाच्या सप्तमी विषये परे ॥
विनायोगे निषेधार्थं द्वितीया क्वचिदिष्यते ।
सर्वाङ्गासम्भवो यत्र स्वल्पान्यङ्गानि तत्र तु ॥

We find in the Vṛtti on Sam. v. 207:

षष्ठी सूत्रे ततः स्थाने पञ्चमी च तदुत्तरे ।
सप्तमी च परे वाच्ये गम्ये चोपपदे क्वचित् ॥

इको यणचि* [६।१।७७] इकः स्थाने अचि परे यणादेशो भवति । भावकर्मणोरात्मने [१।३।१३]। भावे कर्मणि च वाच्ये आत्मनेपदं भवति । वाचि यमो व्रते [३।२।४०]। व्रते गम्यमाने वाच्युपपदे सति यम उत्तरे खज् भवति । (अयं श्लोकः शास्त्रव्यवहारार्थं सूत्रे षष्ठ्यादीनामर्थान्तरेऽपि वृत्तिरिति विभावनाय पाणिनिव्याकरणस्य श्लोकवार्त्तिकः सूत्रकृता निबद्धः । अत एव "इको यणचि" "भावकर्मणोरात्मने" "वाचि यमो व्रते" इति पाणिनीयसूत्रोदाहरणान्याचार्येण दार्ढ्यार्थं वृत्तावुदाहृतानि । क्वचिदिति सर्वत्र योज्यम् । तच्छब्देन यस्माद् विभक्तिविधानं तत्

*यवरलोऽचि—सम् १।८१, भावकर्मणोरात्मने—सम् २।२३, व्रते वाचो यमः—सम् ३।१०७

परामृश्यते इति सूत्रे या षष्ठी सा तस्य स्थाने वेदितव्या। क्वचिद्-ग्रहणात् सम्बन्धादौ च। स्थानशब्दोऽत्र प्रसङ्गवाची, यथा "दर्भाणां स्थाने शरैरास्तरितव्यम्।" दर्भाणां प्रसङ्ग इत्यर्थः। क्वचिद्-ग्रहणादेव हेत्वादौ च। सूत्रे या सप्तमी तस्मिन् परे, तस्मिन् वाच्ये, तस्मिन् गम्ये, तस्मिन्नुपपदे। क्वचिद्-ग्रहणाद् अधिकरणादौ च। गोयीचन्द्रः। सर्वशास्त्रसङ्केतितं विभक्तिकार्यमुक्त्वा एतच्छास्त्रसङ्केतितमाह—षष्ठीति। एतत्तु प्रयोगप्राचुर्यादुक्तम्—अर्थान्तरेऽपि सूत्रे विभक्तिदर्शनात्। [श्लोकवार्त्तिक इति] पाठे वार्त्तिकैकदेशे वार्त्तिकत्वोपचारः, षष्ठ्यन्तपाठस्तु सम्यगेव। भावकर्मणोरिति। एवञ्च वृत्तौ क्वचिद् "भावकर्मणोरात्मने" इति पाठो लिपिकरप्रमादादेव, भावकर्मणोरिति पाणिनिसूत्रे आत्मने इत्यस्याभावात्, अनुदात्तङित आत्मनेपदम् इत्यस्मादेवानुवृत्तेः। विद्यालङ्कारः।

Similarly Padmanābha says under Su. i. 1. 35:

सूत्रे षष्ठ्यां ततः स्थाने पञ्चम्यां तत उत्तरे।
सप्तम्याञ्च परे तस्मिन् गम्ये चोपपदे क्वचित्॥

सूत्रे षष्ठ्यां सत्यां षष्ठ्यन्तस्यैव स्थाने तत् कार्यं भवति। चक्षिञः ख्याञ् [३।३।११३]। व्याख्याता। पञ्चम्यां सत्यां तत उत्तरे। पदात्—[२।४।४८]। त्वां मां त्वा मा वा। सप्तम्यां सत्यां तस्मिन् परे पूर्वस्य कार्यम्। इको यणचि [१।२।१२]। दध्यत्र। गम्ये च। क्षय्यजय्यौ शक्यार्थे [१।२।१७]। उपपदे च। उदि ग्रहः [६।२।४१]। उद्ग्राहः।

K. generally follows (i) the method of the older Prātiśākhyas, sometimes it follows (ii) the newer method of Pāṇini and the later Prātiśākhyas. In several cases (iii) it puts both the kāryin and kārya in the nominative.

(i) पात् पदं समासान्तः २।२।५२, (ii) वाहेर्वाशब्दस्यौ २।२।४८, (iii) तिर्यङ् तिरश्चिः। उदङ् उदीचिः। २।२।५०-५१

C., J., Śāk., Hc. and Su. follow Pāṇini. Sam. and Mu. generally follow Pāṇini but sometimes follow K. also. Thus Sam. has *jarâci jaras vā* vi. 113 and Mu. *jaras jarâci tu* 116 corresponding to *jarāyā jaras anyatarasyām* vii. 2. 101 of Pāṇini.

Sār., HN. and PR. follow K.

Violations of the principle that the genitive is to be used with *kāryin* are often met with in the Aṣṭādhyāyí, the best known instance being *sadir apratch* viii. 3. 66. Commentators sometimes quote this rule as *sader apratch*, but the original reading is undoubtedly *sadir apratch*. Here Pāṇini is either borrowing from a predecessor who follows the principle laid down in RP. or uses the first case-ending with the *kāryin* for the sake of variety.

Rāma Tarkavāgīśa is very explicit on the point under Mu. 6:

सूत्रे प्रथन्तं तद्विधेयं द्व्यन्तं यत् प्राप्यते हि तत् ।
त्र्यन्तं यत् तस्य योगे स्यात् प्तथन्तं यस्मात् परं तु तत् ॥
यस्य स्थाने भवेत् कार्यं तत् ष्यन्तं समुदाहृतम् ।
क्वचिद् व्यतयतो ज्ञेयमेतत् पाणिनिसम्मतम् ॥

(प्री—प्रथमा, द्वी—द्वितीया, त्री—तृतीया, पी—पञ्चमी, षी—षष्ठी, प्ती—सप्तमी) ।

These vyatyayas would have been much easier to explain as due to the exigencies of metre, if we could show that Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyí was originally composed in verse, like RP. among the Prātiśākhyas, and portions of K. and the whole of PR. among grammars; and portions of the Jaimini sūtras among philosophical sūtras, but this is hardly possible. No doubt the first two rules of Pāṇini form the second or fourth quarter of an anuṣṭup stanza (vṛddhir ādaijaden· guṇah). Similarly "svam a-jñāti-

dhanākhyāyām'' i. 1. 35, ''kumārah śramaṇādibhih'' ii. 1. 70, ''bhañja-bhāsa-mido ghurac'' iii. 2. 161, ''san-ghe-cānauttarādharye'' iii. 3. 42 and the first portions of ''viśeṣaṇaṃ viśeṣyeṇa bahulam'' ii. 1. 57, ''harater dṛtināthayoh paśau'' iii. 2. 25 also form quarters of anuṣṭup stanza, still this verse-form would appear to be purely accidental, even as the following prose passage in Whewell's Elementary Treatise on Mechanics (1819) is an instance of accidental metre and rhyme:

And so no force, however great,
Can stretch a cord, however fine,
Into a horizontal line
That shall be absolutely straight.

Poets have been busy making stanzas out of Pāṇini's rules, the most well-known example of such stanzas being:

पक्षि-मत्स्य-मृगान् हन्ति* परिपन्थं च तिष्ठति** ।
†त्रातेन जीवत्यधुना†† न वशः§ पूर्ववत् सनः§§ ॥

'He kills birds and fishes and beasts, is refractory, has no fixed profession but makes his living by bodily labour and is not now obedient to us as before'. This was said by a parent in reply to an enquiry about how his son was getting on.

The rule ''śaktau hasti-kavāṭayoh'' iii. 2. 54 is also the

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*iv. 4. 35. **iv. 4. 36. † v. 2. 21. ‡‡ v. 3. 17. § vi. 1. 20. §§ 1. 3. 62.

* को नयति जगदशेषं क्षयमथ विभराम्बभूव कं विष्णुः ।
नीचः कुत्र सगर्वः पाणिनिसूत्रं च कीदृक्षम् ॥
(यमो गन्धने १।२।१५, यमः अगं धने)

किं स्याद् विशेष्यनिष्ठं का संख्या वदत पूरणी भवति ।
नीचः केन सगर्वः सूत्रं चन्द्रस्य कीदृक्षम् ॥
(विशेषणमेकार्थेन । च २।२।१८)

second or fourth quarter of an Anuṣṭubh stanza as the following samasyā-pūraṇa śloka testifies:

राजन् यद्यपि ते बाहू कान्तालिङ्गनलालसौ ।
तथापि समरे भेत्तुं शक्तौ हस्तिकवाटयोः ॥

'Though your arms, O King, long to embrace the beloved, still for shattering in battle they have strength in the case of elephant-kavāṭas (*i.e.*, they are strong enough to shatter the temples of elephants in battle).'

The very first line of the Mahābhāṣya "atha śabdānuśāsanam," which is in all probability the first rule of the Aṣṭādhyāyī and other ancient Sanskrit grammars, is also the second or fourth quarter of an Anuṣṭubh stanza and a poet has composed the following samasyā-pūraṇa śloka with it:

गुर्वन्तिके ह्रिया पूर्वं संज्ञयार्थावबोधनम् ।
करोति पत्युर्युवतिरथ शब्दानुशासनम् ॥

'In the presence of the elders the bashful young bride instructs her husband in love by means of gesture, then (after the elders have moved away) she conveys her instructions in words.'

Similarly the following stanza has been composed with several rules of the Dhātupāṭha:

भू सत्तायां विनष्टायां धनधान्ये गतेऽपि च ।
गते च तनुविस्तारे वद स्थैर्येऽत्र का कथा ॥

'When the existence of landed property has come to an end, when wealth and corn are gone, when the breadth of the body is vanished, tell me how can you speak of tranquillity?'

Similarly the rule "svaro hrasvo napuṃsake" K. ii. 4. 52 has been made use of in the following stanza:

नीचैः सङ्गे गुरुरपि तुच्छत्वं याति कौतुकम् ।
किमिह दीर्घोऽपि यथा स्वरो ह्रस्वो नपुंसके ॥

The first two words have also inspired the following stanza:

स्वरो ह्रस्वो मतिश्छन्ना गात्रकम्पो महद् भयम् ।
मरणे चानि चिह्नानि तानि सर्वाणि याचने ॥

Similarly "śe ṣe se vā vā para-rūpam" K. i. 5. 6, one of the longest rules in K., has not failed to attract the attention of poetasters, and we find the following stanza:

क्व हरिः शेते का च निकृष्टा को बहुलार्थः किं रमणीयम् ।
वद कातन्त्रे कीदृक् सूत्रं शे षे से वा वा पररूपम् ॥

In the earliest portion of K., *i.e.*, in the Sandhi-section *na* and *na vā* are used to denote *vikalpa*. Commentators point out that there are two varieties of *vā*. One is referred to as *samuccayārthaka*, *i.e.*, in it there is the *samuccaya* of the *kāryas*, the other is referred to as *vikalpārthaka*, *i.e.*, in it there is the *samuccaya* of the *nimittas*. Thus under "vā virāme" ii. 3. 62, the commentator Durga says: vā-śabda iha samuccāyartho no vikalpārthah. Kaviraja explains: vā-śabdah kāryam eva samuccinoti, na nimittam.

It would appear from a consideration of the rules in the Sandhi-section that:

i. *na vā* is used in the sense of *samuccaya*, *i.e.*, the *vikalpa* of *kāryas* and not of *nimittas;*

ii. *na vā* is used when only one side is stated, when both the alternatives are mentioned in so many words or when one alternative is mentioned and the other obtained by *anuvṛtti*, *vā* alone is used;

iii. *na vā* is used only in the case of *aprāpta-vibhāṣā* where the operation is prescribed for the first time and that optionally.

We shall now consider the rules one by one:

1. In "ayādínāṃ ya-va-lopah padānte na vā" i. 2. 16, the *kārya* elision is prescribed for the first time and that optionally. So it is a case of *aprāpta-vibhāṣā* and only one alternative is stated here.

2. In "pañcame pañcamāṃs tṛtíyān na vā" i. 4. 2, *na* is either an interpolation or inserted for the sake of the metre. Since both alternatives are directly mentioned here, *vā* alone was expected.

3. In the next rule "varga-prathamebhyah śakārah svara-ya-va-paraś chakāraṃ na vā", *na vā* is quite regular as this is also a case of *aprāpta-vibhāṣā* of *kāryas* and only one alternative is mentioned here.

4. In the next rule "tebhya eva hakārah pūrva-caturthaṃ na vā" also, *na vā* is regular for the same reasons.

5. In "śiñcau vā" i. 4. 13 *vā* is quite regular, since one alternative is stated and the other obtained by anuvṛtti.

6. In "varge tadvarga-pañcamaṃ vā" i. 4. 16 *vā* is regular for the same reasons.

7. In "ka-khayor jihvāmūlíyaṃ na vā" i. 5. 4, *na vā* has been used because it is a case of *aprāpta-vibhāṣā* of the *kāryas* and only one alternative has been stated.

8. In the next rule "pa-phayor upadhmāníyaṃ na vā" also the same reasons apply.

9. In the next rule "śe ṣe se vā vā para-rūpam" *vā* alone is used quite correctly with the *nimittas*, but the use of the second *vā* is open to objection, since it is used of the *kāryas* and only one alternative is stated. Here *vā* has evidently been used for the sake of the metre, and it is significant that henceforth *na vā* is discarded altogether.

10. In "a-paro lopyo 'nya-svare yaṃ vā" i. 5. 9 *vā* is quite regular, since both sides are stated.

It may be mentioned in this connexion that Hc. also uses *vā* and *na vā*, but for different reasons. Under "sau navetau" i. 2. 38, the Laghunyāsa says:

वेत्युक्तेऽपि विकल्पे सिद्धे नवेत्यधिकारार्थं कृतम्। तेन सर्वत्र यत्र नवेति तत्राधिकारः। यत्र वेति तत्र नाधिकारः।

Similarly the Haimaprakāśa says:

'न वा' इत्यखण्डमव्ययं 'वा' इत्यस्यार्थे, परं यत्र वा-शब्दप्रयोगस्तत्रैकस्मिन्नेव सूत्रे विकल्पः प्रवर्तते; यत्र नवा-शब्दप्रयोगस्तत्र बहुषु सूत्रेषु विकल्पोऽनुवर्तते इत्यनयोर्विशेषः।

The first rule of the Mímāṃsā Sūtra "athāto dharma-jijñāsā" as also the first rule of the Brahma Sūtra "athāto Brahma-jijñāsā" are quarters of the śloka metre.

In the Kāvyālaṃkāra-Sūtra of Vāmana the very first rule is *kāvyaṃ grāhyam alamkārāt* which cannot fail to strike the reader as the first or third quarter of an Anuṣṭubh. Again, the second and third rules of the next section, *viz.*, *pūrve śiṣyā vivekitvāt*, *netare tad-viparyayāt* forms a hemistich of Anuṣṭubh.

Sometimes it is difficult to determine whether a passage was composed originally in prose or in verse. Thus in the Vyakti-viveka we find:

न तावदत्र नञः श्राद्धेनोत्तरपदार्थेनाभिसम्बन्धः कश्चित् प्रतीयते, अपि तु विशेष्यतया प्राधान्येन तद्भोज्यर्थेनैव। तत्रापि कर्त्रंश एव नप्रधानम्, न क्रियांशः। श्राद्धभोजनशीलो ह्यतः कर्ता प्रतीयते तद्भोजनमात्रम्, कर्तरि णिनेर्विधानात्।

In the Sāhitya Darpaṇa we read:

अत्रापि यदि भोजनादिरूपक्रियांशेन नञः सम्बन्धः स्यात् तदैव

तत्र प्रसज्यप्रतिषेधत्वं वक्तुं शक्यम्, न च तथा, विशेष्यतया प्रधानेन तद्भोज्यर्थेन कर्त्रंशेनैव नञः सम्बन्धात्। यदाहुः—

श्राद्धभोजनशीलो हि यतः कर्ता प्रतीयते।
न तद्भोजनमात्रं तु कर्तरीनेर्विधानतः॥

इति।

No doubt, several MSS. read *d* as *kartari ṇiner vidhānāt* which is supported by the commentator Maheśvara, still the Sāhitya Darpaṇa would appear to have preserved the original reading in this particular instance.

Personally I have not the slightest doubt that the whole of K. was originally composed in verse. It is only on this hypothesis that we can explain "eva" in "tebhya eva hakārah pūrva-caturtham na vā" i. 4. 4, "paras tu" in "ḍa-ḍha-ṇa-paras tu ṇakāram" i. 4. 14 coming after "ṭa-ṭhayoh ṣakāram, ta-thayoh sakāram, le lam, ja-jha-ña-śakāreṣu ñakāram" etc., "vibhāṣyete" instead of "vibhāṣā" or "vā" in "vibhāṣyete pūrvādeh" ii. 1. 28, "sarvatah" in "sur āmi sarvatah" ii. 1. 29 and so on. No doubt the Kātantra, as it is extant in Bengal, is for the most part in prose, but this is only due to the fact that the versified Kārikas were divided into short prose rules, and in course of time, due to certain additions and alterations they appeared to have changed beyond all recognition. The first few rules* of K. may thus be reconstructed in verse-form:

सिद्धो वर्णसमाम्नाय आदौ चतुर्दश स्वराः।
दश समानास्तेषां द्वौ द्वावन्योन्यस्य सवर्णौ॥
पूर्वो ह्रस्वः परो दीर्घः स्वरोऽवर्णवर्जो नामी।
सन्ध्यक्षरमेकारादि कादीनि व्यञ्जनानि ते॥

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*सिद्धो वर्णसमाम्नायः। तत्र चतुर्दशादौ स्वराः। दश समानाः। तेषां द्वौ द्वावन्योन्यस्य सवर्णौ। पूर्वो ह्रस्वः। परो दीर्घः। स्वरोऽवर्णवर्जो नामी। एकारादीनि सन्ध्यक्षराणि। कादीनि व्यञ्जनानि। ते वर्गाः पञ्च पञ्च पञ्च।

ĀDEŚA.

The word "ādeśa" (from *ā-diś* 'to point out, direct, teach') is used for the first time in the Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads and Śrauta-sūtras in the sense of 'advice, instruction'. In grammar it means 'that which is ordered in the place of another', hence 'a substitute'. The followers of Āpiśali show the distinction between "ādeśa" and "āgama" etc. thus:

आगमोऽनुपघातेन विकारश्चोपमर्दनात् ।
आदेशस्तु प्रसङ्गेन लोपः सर्वापकर्षणात् ॥

'An augment comes in without injury (to the original), a vikāra comes in by smashing *i.e.* ousting the original, a substitute comes in the place of something else and elision takes place by dragging away *i.e.* destroying the whole.'

Others put the same thing more vividly thus:

स्थाने शत्रुवदादेशा भाले पुण्ड्रवदागमाः ।
दन्तानामिव लोपः स्याच्छत्रुवत् प्रत्ययाः परे ॥

'An ādeśa or substitute is like an enemy taking possession of the domain of a vanquished opponent, an āgama or augment is like the mark of ashes on the forehead, lopa or elision is like the falling off of the teeth and pratyayas or suffixes are appendages following one like umbrellas.'

When one letter is substituted for another, it is known as vikāra. This is the view of the followers of Āpiśali:

एकवर्णकार्यं विकारः । अनेकवर्णकार्यमादेश इत्यापिशलीयं मतम् ।

We find the same thing in the Kavirāja on K. ii. 3. 33. Bhaṭṭoji also says:

विकारो नाम वर्णात्मक आदेशः । शब्दकौस्तुभः, पृः ३४४

The Hemacandra Laghunyāsa (i. 4. 90) says:

एकस्यावयवस्य यो भवति स प्रोक्तो विकारो बुधै-
रादेशस्त्वस भूरिव प्रकटितः सर्वोपमर्दात्मकः ॥

Pāṇini uses ādeśa in the rules "eca ig-ghrasvādeśe" i. 1. 48, "sthāni-vad-ādeśo'nal-vidhau" i. 1. 56 etc. Āgama does not occur in the Aṣṭādhyāyī.

Other grammarians use these terms when necessary. HN., however, uses "Viriñci" for "ādeśa" and "Viṣṇu" for "āgama".

ह। आदेशो विरिञ्चिः। १।३९

विरिञ्चिर्ब्रह्मा यथैकं वस्तूपादायान्यत् करोति, तथा यो विधिः प्रवर्त्तते स आदेशो विरिञ्चिश्चोच्यते। टीका

आगमो विष्णुः। १।४०

विष्णुर्यथा मध्यतः स्वयमाविर्भूय पोषको भवति, तथा यो विधिः प्रवर्त्तते स आगमो विष्णुश्चोच्यते।

The older name of "āgama" is "upajana" which is found in the Nirukta. Patañjali says: upajana āgamah. ...vikāra ādeśah (ed. Kielhorn, Vol. I, p. 31, ll. 17-18).

RP. uses both Āgama and Upajana. Other Prātiśākhyas use Āgama only.

The position of the āgama is indicated in many systems of grammar by the indicatory letters ṭ, k and m. Hence in a stanza quoted in J. (i. 1. 3 Laghuvṛtti), āgamas are referred to as *ka-ṭa-metah*—

आदेशः प्रत्ययश्चैव कटमेतो हि लक्ष्मणि।
भाव्यशब्देन पञ्चैते कथ्यन्ते देवनन्दिभिः ॥

Acc. to Pāṇini indicatory *ṭ* and *k* show that the āgama will come in at the beginning and at the end respectively. When there is an indicatory *m* the āgama is placed after

the last vowel of the word, ādyantau ṭa-kitau, mid-aco'ntyāt parah i. 1. 46-47. J. follows Pāṇini, splitting up the rule "ādyantau ṭakitau" into two for the sake of consistency:

टिदादिः। किदन्तः। परोऽचो मित्। १।१।६१-६३

Durgādāsa says under Mugdhabodha 21:

प्रकृतेः प्रत्ययस्यापि सम्बन्धे यो भवन्नपि।
तयोरनुपघाती स्यादागमः स बुधैर्मतः॥
आदेश उपघाती यः प्रकृतेः प्रत्ययस्य वा॥

K. generally uses "vikāra" for "ādeśa" which occurs once in "sphāyer vādeśah" iv. 2. 25.

The earlier names of vikāra were: *vyāpatti* and *āpatti*.

Pāṇini generally uses the ablative and the locative respectively with the preceding and following sounds between which the āgama is inserted, the āgama itself being put in the nominative. Commentators often take great pains to show that in these cases the ablative is used for the genitive. Other grammarians generally follow Pāṇini.

RP. uses the locative with the preceding sound as also with the following sound which is often construed with the word "pare", and the word "antarā" is used in such cases. Cf. RP. iv. 16-18 (quoted on p. 166) and iv. 84-89 (quoted on pp. 153-154).

VP. distinctly says that an āgama is indicated by the instrumental:

तेनेत्यागमः। १।१३७ (तेनेति तृतीयाग्रहणम्। तृतीयया यो निर्दिश्यते स आगमः प्रत्येतव्यः। यथा, "ङ्नौ क्ताभ्यां सकारे" [४।१५], "प्रगृह्यं चर्चायामितिना पदेषु" [४।१८] इति।)

Similarly we find CA.: हकारान्नासिक्येन। १।१००

It is clear that in such cases the instrumental is construed with the word "vyavadhāna" understood.

TP., as already pointed out on p. 261, uses the nominative with the āgama and "parah" with the word after which the āgama is prescribed. Thus we find:

त्रपुमिथुपूर्वः शकारश्चपरः। सुपूर्वश्च चन्द्रपरः। सम्पूर्वः सकारः कुरुपरः। अकुर्वं च प्रत्ययात् परः। नीचापूर्वो दकार उच्चापरः। ५।४-८

RT. uese the word "vyavadhāna" as "adhikāra" and the nominative with the intrusive sound, evidently taking "vyavadhāna" not in the sense of 'intervention' but in that of the 'intervening sound':

व्यवधानोऽन्त्यविकारे। अन्त्यात् प्रथमोऽघोषे। नात् सि। १८५-१८७

Pāṇini was probably thinking of the word 'Ṭakka' when framing the rule "ādyantau ṭakitau". He owes his idea of the anubandha *m* probably to the fact that the most prominent āgama which is inserted after the final vowel is the nasal *n*. This particular nasal cannot be utilised for the purpose, since it will involve complications in accentuation (ñnityādir nityam vi. 1. 197), ñ and ṇ will involve lengthening (aco ñṇiti vii. 2. 115) and n· is required for ādeśas. So he uses the remaining nasal *m* which happens also to be next to *n*.

K. uses the anubandha *u* for this purpose (āgama udanubandhah svarād antyāt parah ii. 1. 6). It must have got the idea from the āgama *num* of Pāṇini and others. Sarvavarman probably thought that since the addition of a vowel was necessary for ease of utterance, it would be conducive to brevity to use the particular vowel as an anubandha. No doubt in the case of vocalic āgamas after the final vowels the anubandha *u* cannot be used, still such āgamas are rare.

The nasal *n·* is used to indicate antādeśa, because it itself stands at the *end* of a varga, and because it is generally used by itself at the *end* of words.

STHĀNIN

"Sthānin" is derived from "sthāna" 'place' with the help of the possessive suffix 'ini' and means literally 'having a place'. It is used in Āśvalāyana's Śrauta Sūtra in the sense of 'being in the proper place, appropriate'. In grammar it is used in two senses. As an adjective it means that which should be in the place, but is not there, that which is to be supplied as in "kriyārthopapadasya ca karmaṇi sthāninah" ii. 3. 14. As a noun it is used in opposition to ādeśa 'substitute' and means the original form or primitive element of a word in place of which something else is substituted. Thus when *bhū* is substituted for *as*, *as* is "sthānin" and *bhū* "ādeśa." Sthāna is used in the sense of place, stead in AB. and the Śrauta and Gṛhya sūtras. This is but a slight development of meaning from the above sense. Hence Sanskrit grammarians generally explain "sthāna" as 'prasan·ga, contingency, case, event.' Under "sthāni-vad ādeśo'nal-vidhau" i. 1. 55 the Mahābhāṣy says:

स्थानी हि नाम यो भूत्वा न भवति, आदेशो हि नाम योऽभूत्वा भवति।

The Bālamanoramā explains "sthānin" and ādeśa thus:

स्थानं प्रसङ्गः। यस्य स्थानेऽन्यद् विधीयते तत् स्थानी। येन विधीयमानेनान्यत् प्रसक्तं निवर्तते स आदेशः।

Regarding the first sense Bhaṭṭoji says in his Śabdakaustubha:

स्थानि-शब्दोऽप्रयुज्यमानतया वैयाकरणगृहे प्रसिद्धः ।

Later grammarians became chary of the use of "sthānin" which soon became obsolete, though "sthāni-vad ādeśah" is used as an atideśa-rule in most systems. K. has "etvam asthānini" ii. 3. 17 where "asthānini" means that for which no ādeśa or substitute has been prescribed. Su. uses "sthānin" in "sthāni-tumo dhātor icchāyām" iii. 1. 3. Sam. uses "gamyamāna" in "gamyamāne' pi nāmni prathamo yuṣmad-asmadoś ca madhyamottamau" ii. 17 corresponding to Pāṇini's "yuṣmadhyupapade samānādhikaraṇe sthāninyapi madhyamah."

The Nyāsa says:

शब्दास्तिष्ठन्त्यस्मिन्निति स्थानम् । तदस्यास्तीति स्थानी । एतदुक्तं भवति—यस्यार्थः प्रतीयते न तु प्रयोगोऽस्ति स स्थानीत्युच्यते ।

इह किमुषसि पृच्छाशंसि किं-शब्दरूप-
प्रतिनियमितवाचा वायसेनैष पृष्टः ।
भण फणिभवशास्त्रे तातङः स्थानिनौ का-
विति विहिततुहीवागुत्तरः कोकिलोऽभूत् ॥
नैषध १९।६१

'Can it be that this cuckoo being asked at the break of day by the crow that had its speech restricted to the (nom. dual) form of the interrogative pronoun *kim*, "say what are the two original endings for which *tātam* is substituted in the system of Pāṇini" (lit. in the Mahābhāṣya) made his reply in the form of the sound *tuhi*?'

At the first blush of the morning the crow caws and the cuckoo cuckoos. The poet imagines the crow uttering the word "kau," the nom. dual of the interrogative pronoun

kim with a view to asking the cuckoo what are the two endings for which the substitute *tātam* is prescribed in the system of Pāṇini, and the cuckoo utters "tuhi" in reply meaning that the original endings are 'tu' and 'hi'. The reference is to Pāṇini's rule "tuhyos tātam āśiṣyanyatarasyām" vii. 1. 35.

स्वं नैषधादेशमहो विधाय कार्यस्य हेतोरपि नानलः सन् ।
किं स्थानिवद्भावमधत्त दुष्टं तादृक् कृतव्याकरणः पुनः सः ॥
नैषध १०।१३५

'Making himself alas the substitute of Nala, and even becoming none other than Nala (not anal) for the sake of the end in view, why did Indra, who gave an explanation like that (who had composed such a grammar), retain his original evil nature (accept sthānivadbhāva which is not valid in this case)?'

In a previous stanza:

स्मितेन गौरी हरिणी दृशेयं वीणावती सुस्वरकण्ठभासा ।
हेमैव कायप्रभयाङ्गशेषैस्तन्वी मतिं क्रामति मेनकापि ॥

Indra had compared Damayantí with the Apsarases Gaurí, Hariṇí, Viṇāvatí, Hemā and Menakā. Thereupon Nala had suspected his identity and looked at him with eyes full of suspicion. He dispelled those supicions by explaining that Gaurí, Hariṇí, Víṇāvatí, Hemā and Menakā were not proper names, but meant respectively 'white', 'gazelle', 'an adept at the lyre', 'gold' and 'no one mine'. This explanation is referred to by the word Vyākaraṇa in this stanza. Vyākaraṇa also means 'grammar'. It is wellknown that Indra is the traditional author of the first complete

Sanskrit grammar ever composed*. And grammar teaches "sthānivadādeśo' nalvidhau" (P. i. 1. 56) that a substitute is to be regarded as the original except in the matter of rules concerning grammatical operations with respect to single letters (analvidhi). Here Indra is impersonating Nala and so has made himself the substitute of Nala and he is not anala also for the winning of Damayantí, consequently sthānivad-bhāva which is possible only in the case of 'analvidhi' is not applicable here for the simple reason that he is not anal. He should therefore take on the nature of the ādeśa Nala and become as pure and truthful as that king. But by a curious irony of fate, the author of the first and finest work on Sanskrit grammar violates his own rule and exhibits falsehood, prevarication and his notorious fondness for other people's wives.

In Murāri's Anargha Rāghava (iv. 11. 3-4) we find:

तपोभिरस्य ब्राह्मणादेशेऽपि स्थानिवद्भावेन क्षत्रकार्यं न जहाति ।

UPAJANA, UPAPADA AND UPABANDHA.

"Upajana" is the earlier name of 'āgama'. *Upa-jan* is used in Vedic literature in the sense of 'to be produced

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*वाग् वै पराच्यव्याकृतावदत्, ते देवा इन्द्रमब्रुवन्, इमां नो वाचं व्याकुर्विति। सोऽब्रवीत्, वरं वृणे। मह्यं चैवैष वायवे च सह गृह्याता इति। तस्मादैन्द्रवायवः सह गृह्यते। तामिन्द्रो मध्यतोऽवक्रम्य व्याकरोत्। तस्मादियं व्याकृता वागुद्यते। तै सं ६।६।४।७

इन्द्रोऽपि महामते अनेकशास्त्रविदग्धबुद्धिः स्वशब्दशास्त्रप्रणेता तच्छिष्येण नागवेषरूपधारिणा स्वर्गे इन्द्रसभायां प्रतिज्ञां कृत्वा तव वा सहस्रारो रथो भज्यताम्, मम वैकैकनागभावस्य फणच्छेदो भवत्विति। स ह लोकायतिकशिष्येण देवानामिन्द्रं विजित्य सहस्रारं रथं भङ्क्त्वा पुनरपीमं लोकमागतः। लङ्कावतारसूत्रम्।

समुद्रवद् व्याकरणं महस्वरे तदर्धकुम्भोद्धरणं बृहस्पतौ।
तद्भागभागाच्च गतं पुरन्दरे कुशाग्रबिन्दूत्पतितं हि पाणिनौ।

सारस्वतभाष्यम्।

or to originate in addition, to be added'. Thus RV. i. 25. 8 speaks of the intercalary month thus:

वेद मासो धृतव्रतो द्वादश प्रजावतः ।
वेदा य उपजायते ॥

'He, the upholder of the law, knows the twelve months with their offspring; he knows the month that is born besides.'

In RP. iv. 84 we find:

पुरुषृथ्वधिपूर्वेषु शकार उपजायते ।
ह्रस्वे च पूर्वपद्यान्ते चन्द्रशब्दे परेऽन्तरा ॥

Similarly we find in the Mahābhāṣya:

तद् यथा द्वयोरासीनयोस्तृतीय उपजायते, न द्वितीयो द्वितीयो भवति। कस्तर्हि ? तृतीयः। ६।१।२

Hence "upajana" means 'addition of a letter or syllable in the formation of a word, letters or syllables added' and so corresponds exactly to later "āgama". In this sense the word is used several times in the Nirukta:

उपेत्युपजनम्। १।३ (उपजनम्=आधिक्यम्)

'Upa is used in the sense of addition.'

अनर्थका उपजना भवन्ति—कर्तन हन्तन यातनेति। ४।७

'There are meaningless additions as, for instance, kartana, hantana, yātana.'

अथापि वर्णोपजनः—आस्थद् द्वारो भरूर्जेति। २।२

'Further there is addition of letters; e.g., āsthat, dvārah and bharūjā.'

"Upajana" is used in the sense of 'birth' in "samāna-jātīyasya vopajanah" Nir. iv. 20 and "svaropajanaś cādṛṣṭah padeṣu saṃhitāyāṃ ca" CA. iv. 109.

The past participial form "upa-jāta" is used in the sense of 'appended member' in CA. and its commentary:

उपजातः परेण। ४।१०

'When a compound is further compounded with an appended member, the latter constitutent is separated.'

भिषजा हि सुशब्दोऽयं पुंलिङ्गेन समस्यते।
उपजातस्ततस्मात् पूर्वेणावग्रहः स्मृतः॥ ४।४६ टीका

'The word *su* here is compounded with the masculine *bhiṣaj* to which (the compound) *tama* is further appended, hence the former, *i.e.*, *subhiṣak* is to be separated.' Whitney suggests "pareṇa" for pūrveṇa" and translates "separation by avagraha is made of the latter".

यत्रोभे प्रतिविध्येते उपजातं जरच्च यत्।
जरतावग्रहः कार्य ऋक्सामभ्यां निदर्शनम्॥

"When both members are severally separable, the newly added and the ancient, the latter is to be separated by avagraha from the former: *ṛksāmabhyām* is an instance in point."

"Upapada" literally means 'near a word, a word standing near (another word), a word preceding or following' (upoccāritam padam upapadam. Nyāsa). In this sense it is used by Pāṇini in "mithyopapadāat kṛño' bhyāse" i. 3. 71, "vibhāṣopapadena partíyamāne" i. 3. 77 etc. In "upapada-vibhakti" as opposed to "kāraka vibhakti", "upapada" means individual 'word' and the expression "upapada vibhakti" means 'case-ending in connexion with individual words'. As the Nyāsa says under Hc. ii. 2. 100: sā hyupapada-vibhaktir yatra kāraka-gandho'pi nāsti, yathā śaktārtha-vaṣaḍādibhir yoge caturthiti. In its technical sense it refers to a word in the locative in Pāṇini's rules under the general heading "dhātoh" iii. 1. 91: tatropa-

padaṃ saptamīstham iii. 1. 92. Thus since in the rule "karmanyaṇ" iii. 2. 1 the word "karmaṇi" is used in the locative it is to be regarded as an "upapada" for the purposes of the rules "upapadam atin·" ii. 2. 19, "gati-kārakopapadāt kṛt" vi. 1. 139 etc.

"Upapada" occurs in the first sense in VP. "yadvṛttopapādac ca" vi. 14 (corresponding to Pāṇini's "yadvṛttān nityam" viii. 1. 66). Uvaṭa says in his Bhāṣya:

अत्र यस्य यद्वृत्तस्याख्यातपदेन सह सम्बन्धो भवति तदेव विक्रियते, न तु सन्निधिमात्रेण।

यस्य येनार्थसम्बन्धो दूरस्थस्यापि तस्य तत्।
अर्थतो ह्यसमर्थानामानन्तर्यमकारणम्॥

In another rule in the same section "upapadaprayoge'pi ca" vi. 23, it has practically the same meaning, referring, as it does, to the particles *ca vā ha aha eva* which are used in proximity with the verb.

The commentary on CA. while explaining the rule vṛkṣā vanāniti vakāre ii. 28 uses "upapada" in the sense of 'the contiguous word':

सोपपदस्य ग्रहणमेतावत्त्वार्थम्। इह मा भूत्। वृक्षान् वातो वृक्षान् वयाः।

In APr. i. 2 "karmopapado vṛddhimān akāra-pratyayah", "upapada" would appear to occur in its usual technical sense.

Later grammarians generally avoid this word of four syllables, replacing it by *yoga, yukta, asyukta, n·asyukta* etc., though sometimes it is used in its ordinary sense. In the other schools generally the ablative is used with the *upapada* instead of the locative of the Pāṇini school, and so they use "n·asyukta" or "asyukta" for "upapada". Thus

Śāk. says svakṛtāsyuktam ii. 1. 22. Hc. uses "n·asyuktam" in n·asyuktaṃ kṛtā iii. 1. 49 which is explained thus in the Vṛtti: kṛt-pratyaya-vidhāyake sūtre n·asyanta-nāmnoktaṃ kṛdantena nāmnā nityasamāsas tatpuruṣaḥ syāt. The Paribhāṣā "gati-kārakopapadānāṃ kṛdbhih saha samāsa-vacanam prāk sub-utputteh" is read by the followers of this school as "gati-kāraka-n·asyuktānāṃ kṛdantair vibhaktyutpatteh prāg eva samāsaḥ."

J. uses vāk for upapada, probably because *vā* in this system denotes "dvitíyā" and the upapada generally takes the accusative. Thus for "upapadam atin·" of Pāṇini J. has "vāg amin·" i. 3. 85. Cf. also "ípā vāk" ii. 1. 98.

Sam. uses "upapada" in the rule "tannimittopapadasya ·ca" vii. 53.

Su. uses "upapada" in the rule "kṛtā tadarthopapadam" iv. 3. 42.

Rāma Tarkavāgíśa uses "upapada" in his commentary on Mu. 366: a-syādyantenāpi kṛtopapadasya.

PR. defines "upapada" thus:

सप्तम्युक्तं विधिसूत्रादावर्थपदेनायुक्तं चेत्तत्।
पूर्वपराढ्यञ्चोपपदं स्यात्। १६।१८

"Upabandha" (from *upa* 'near' and *bandh* 'to bind') literally means 'that which is attached to' and is used in the Nirukta in the sense of 'suffix':

अध्वर्युः।···अपि वाधीयाने युरुपबन्धः। १।८

'Or the suffix *yu* is added in the sense of 'adhíyāna' (he who studies).'

The sense is not quite clear. It is possible that according to Yāska 'adhvaryu' is derived from the root *i* preceded by *adhi* with the help of the primary suffix *yu*. More probably, however, Yāska intends to derive 'adhvaryu' from

the substantive 'adhvara' with the help of the taddhita suffix 'yu'. The latter is the view of both Durga and Skandasvāmin and appears to be the correct view.

अपि वा सीमेत्येतदनर्थकमुपबन्धमाददीत पञ्चमीकर्माणम्—सीम्नः सीमतः सीमातो मर्यादातः। १।७

'Or else the word 'síman' may have taken the suffix (*tas*) in the sense of the ablative and without any other sense'.

अग्रियाः···अपि वा अग्रमित्येतदनर्थकमुपबन्धमाददीत ६।१६

'Or else the word 'agra' might have taken on a pleonastic suffix.'

The above three passages set up a strong presumption in favour of taking 'upabandha' in the sense of 'secondary suffix'. As has already been pointed out (p. 60) the earlier name for a primary suffix was 'nāmakaraṇa'.

LOPA, LUK AND LUP

"Lopa" is derived from the root *lup* 'to break, hurt, injure' and occurs for the first time in the Kauṣítaki-Brāhmaṇa. In grammatical literature it is first found in the Nirukta in the sense of loss or elision:

अथाप्युपधालोपो भवति—जग्मतुः जग्मुरिति।···अथापि वर्णलोपो भवति—तत्त्वा यामीति। अथापि द्विवर्णलोपः—तृच इति। २।१

Here 'lopa' is used in opposition to 'āgama' or 'upajana' and appears to mean 'destruction' or 'loss'. In VP. we find "varṇasyādarśanaṃ lopah" i. 147, but in TP. occurs "vināśo lopah" i. 58 which is the earlier sense and which is preserved in *kurral* of the Tolkappiya. RP. generally

uses *lumpati* (active) or *lupyate* (neuter) and so does not deem it necessary to define the term. 'Lopa' occurs in the expression 'lopa-rephoṣma-bhāva' twice (iv. 80, xv. 12) and 'luptavat' and 'luptāntam' occur once each in x. 3. TP. uses 'lupta', 'lupyate', 'lupyete', 'lopa' and 'lopin' and distinguishes 'vikāra' from 'lopa' in "varṇasya vikāra-lopau" i. 57. It construes the adhikāra rule "lopah..." v. 11 with the nominatives in the following rules according to its paribhāṣā "ahkāra āgama-vikāri-lopinām" i.23. VP. uses 'lopa' and construes it with the genitive acc. to its paribhāṣā "ṣaṣṭhī sthāne-yogā". "Luk" occurs in VP. in "edodbhyām akāro lug abhinihitah" i. 114. in the sense of 'that has undergone elision'. CA. uses the nominal form "lopa" throughout, construing it with the genitive. Pāṇini says "adarśanaṃ lopah" i. 1. 60 and the Vārttikakāra suggests "prasaktādarśanaṃ lopah". The Vyāsa-Śikṣā follows Pāṇini and says: lopah syād apyadarśanam 10. RT. generally prefers monosyllables and so uses 'lup' (derived evidently from the root *lup* with the suffix *kvip*) for "lopa" in the rules "lub anyah" 83 (lupyate 'nyo' kārah—com.), and "lub ud eṣa sa sya vyañjane 156 (lupyata udātta eṣa sa sya vyañjane pratyaye *i.e.* pare—com.). It is to be noticed that in both these instances Lup is construed not with the genitive but with the nominative. It must, therefore, be explained as 'lupyata iti lup'. In the Ślokavārttikas "sarva-sāder dvigoś ca lah"* (Mahābhāṣya iv. 2. 60), "pramāṇe lo dvigor nityam" (Ib. v. 2. 37) and "uvarṇāl la ilasya ca" (v. 3. 83, uvarṇād ilasya ca lopo vaktavyah—

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*सर्वादेः सादेर्द्विगोरुत्पन्नस्य ठको लोपो (?) भवतीत्यर्थः। न्यासः। सर्वादेः सादे द्विगोश्चोत्पन्नस्य प्रत्ययस्य लो भवति लुग् भवतीत्यर्थः। अर्थवतः सशब्दस्य ग्रहणात् सर्वशब्दः पृथग्गुपात्तः। 'द्विगोश्च' इत्यनेन 'द्विगोर्लुगनपत्ये' [४।१।८८] इत्ययमेव लुक् स्मारितः। पदमञ्जरी।

Bhāṣya) "la" is used for lopa or luk. The Nyāsa says under v. 2. 37: lukaś cāyam pūrvācārya-vihitā saṃjñā. The Padamañjarí says under v. 2. 37: "luka eṣā pūrvācārya-saṃjñā" and under v. 3. 83: lopasya la iti pūrvācārya-saṃjñā.

Pāṇini also uses "luk", "ślu" and "lup" in the sense of elision of suffixes (including Vikaraṇas). Of theses *ślu* is confined to the elision of the Vikaraṇa and the reduplication of the root in the case of juhotyādi roots and the *ś* has evidently been inserted for sārvadhātuka-saṃjñā acc. to "tin-śit sārvadhātukam" iii. 4. 113), though what useful purpose is served by this saṃjñā is very difficult to determine.

Both "luk" and "lopa" occur in the Uṇādi-sūtras:

दुरीणो लोपश्च २।२०, रोदेर्णिलुक् च २।२२

Lup is prescribed only in the Taddhita section and differs from "luk" in that in the case of elision of suffixes by "lup" the word retains its own gender and number acc. to "lupi yukta-vad vyakti-vacane" i. 2. 51, 'in the case of the elision of a Taddhita suffix by the word *lup*, the gender and number of the word formed with the suffix are the same as those of the original word'. The views of early grammarians are embodied in this rule which is apparently rejected by Pāṇini in the following rules, still the great grammarian followed their terminology. What is far more probable, however, is that the rules "tad aśiṣyaṃ saṃjñā-pramāṇatvāt" i. 2. 53 to "kālopasarjane ca tulyam" i. 2. 57 are really Vārttikas interpolated into the sūtras. The distinction between Luk and Lup will be clear from the following rules of the Taddhita section:

प्लक्षादिभ्योऽण्। फले लुक्। जम्ब्वा वा। लुप् च। हरीतक्यादिभ्यश्च। ४।३।१६४-१६७

Here Lup is prescribed in the case of the words 'jambū' etc. because we get the fem. sing. 'jambūh' as the name of the fruit. But Luk is prescribed in the case of the other words, so that from the feminine stem "āmalakī" we get the neuter 'āmalaka' in the sense of 'āmalakyāh phalam' after the elision of the suffix *mayaṭ*. Hence the Kāśikā says: yukta-vad-bhāve viśeṣah. The Siddhānta-Kaumudī also says: lupi yukta-vat. jambvāh phalam jambūh. The Bāla-manoramā explains: lukaiva siddhe lub-vidheh phalam āha.

The distinction between Lopa and the three suffixes Luk, Ślu and Lup is that in the case of the latter the Paribhāṣā "pratyaya-lope pratyaya-lakṣaṇam" i. 1. 62 does not apply according to the next rule "na lumatān·gasya" i. 1. 63. Thus in the case of 'agni-cit' where the suffix *kvip* has been added to 'agni-ci', a *t* comes in according to "hrasvasya piti kṛti tuk" vi. 1. 71, even though the suffix is elided acc. to "ver apṛktasya" vi. 1. 67, because the elision here is prescribed by Lopa. In the case of 'mṛṣṭah', however, the Vikaraṇa śap is elided by "adi-prabhṛtibhyah śapah" i. 4. 72 where Luk comes by anuvṛtti from ii. 4. 58 and so the rule "mṛjer vṛddhih" vii. 2. 114 does not apply. It may be mentioned in this connexion that Lopa is possible in the case of both Prakṛti and Pratyaya, but Luk, Ślu and Lup are prescribed in the case of Pratyaya alone*.

Luk may easily be derived from the root *luñc* 'to tear off' with the suffix *kvip*, as has been actually done by Durga in his commentary on K. iii. 4. 92:

लुञ्चनं लुक्। लुञ्च अपनयने। सम्पदादित्वात् भावे क्विप्।

But in that case the stem will be *luc* and forms like "taddhita-luki" i. 2. 49 will be hard to explain. This

*प्रत्ययस्य लुक्-श्लु-लुपः १।१।६१

derivation, therefore, is on a par with the derivation of "dhuṭ" from the root *dhukṣ* with the suffix *kvip*. Hence Goyīcandra says under "luk cihnārthasya" (Sam. vi. 1):

लुगित्यव्युत्पन्नं नाम, न तु लुञ्चतेः क्विबन्तस्य रूपम्, तथा सति "लुकि स्त्रीविहितस्य च" [तद्धितपरिशिष्ट १४१५] इति निर्देशानुपपत्तिः स्यात्।

The commentators of Mu., however, get over the difficulty by including Luk in the nyan·kvādi group (P. vii. 3. 53).

It would appear that Pāṇini wanted to have another technical term like Lup, so he seized upon the first syllable and added to it the first of the consonants, *viz. k*, acc. to the maxim: प्रथमोपस्थितस्य परित्यागे कारणाभावात्।

Ślu has generally been avoided by later grammarians who directly prescribe reduplication in the case of juhotyādi roots.

K. uses "lopa" in the first rule of its second section *viz.* samānah savarṇe dírghíbhavati paraś ca lopam, but finds it unnecessary to define Lopa as it is sufficiently well-known (cf. "lokopacārād grahaṇa-siddhih" i. 1. 23). K. does not use Luk in its earlier portions, hence it has to add "na ca tad uktam" in the rule "napuṃsakāt syamor lopo na ca taduktam" ii. 2. 6. At very nearly the end of the book we find the rule "lug-lope na pratyaya-kṛtam" corresponding to Pāṇini's "na lumatān·gasya" i. 1. 63, but that is evidently a later addition by the scholar who revised the work and used Luk in several rules of chaps. III and IV. No doubt the word Luk occurs twice in chapter II: "kateś ca jas-śasor luk" ii. 1. 76 and "anyasmāl luk" ii. 4. 3. but since the author does not mention anything about Luk at the beginning of chapter II where the other technical terms used in that chapter have been mentioned, but explains it

at the end of chapter IV where the technical terms used exclusively in chapters III and IV are explained, it is quite clear that Lup was not used in the original portion of chapter II. As regards the two rules mentioned above, the second (anyasmāl luk ii. 4. 3) is undoubtedly an interpolation like the two rules preceding it and the four following it. In the first place they are out of place in the Kāraka-section. Secondly, Sarvavarman does not deal with these details in his grammar. Thirdly, the author who gives a wide berth to kṛt, taddhita and samāsa is not likely to bother about them in connexion with other topics.

The first rule (kateś ca jas-śasor luk ii. 1. 76) is also open to grave suspicion. It is difficult to understand why Sarvavarman should use the monosyllable "luk" in ii. 1. 76 and the disyllable "lopah" along with the reservation "na ca taduktam" only after six short rules in "napuṃsakāt syamor lopo na ca taduktam" ii. 2. 6. He might have easily written "napuṃsakāt syamor luk" which would have sounded exactly like "kateś ca jas-śasor luk". It may be objected that in that case the rule "virāma-vyañjanādāv uktaṃ napuṃsakāt syamor lope' pi" ii. 3. 64 would not apply to words like ṣaṣ and consequently the nominative singular of ṣaṣ would be ṣaṣ and not ṣaṭ. To this our reply is that "napuṃsakāt" can easily be dropped from the rule which itself is of doubtful authenticity, if only for the masculine singular form "virāma-vyañjanādau", the grammatically regular form "virāma-vyañjanādiṣu" occurring in ii. 3. 44.

So Sarvavarman probably wrote:

कतेश्च जस्-शसोर्लोपो न च तदुक्तम् ।···
नपुंसकात् स्यमोर्लोपो न च तदुक्तम् ।···
विरामव्यञ्जनादावुक्तं स्यमोर्लोपेऽपि ।

or

कतेश्च जस्-शसोर्लोपः ।...

नपुंसकात् स्यमोर्लोपः ।

without bothering about "pratyaya-lope pratyaya-lakṣaṇam".

Candra uses "lopa" without defining it. Thus he has "ino'ci lopah" v. 4. 41 corresponding to Pāṇini's "bhasya ṭer lopah" vii. 1. 88. He uses "luk" for Pāṇini's "luk". All cases of Pāṇini's "lup" are, however, explained away in the Vṛtti by resorting to *abhedopacāra*. Thus the Vṛtti on "ilaj deśe" iv. 2. 109 corresponding to Pāṇini's "deśe lub-ilacau ca" v. 2. 105 says: śarkarā deśa ity abhedopacārāt. yathā kuntān praveśaya, yaṣṭih praveśayeti. Similarly we find in the Vṛtti on "nakṣatrair indu-juktaih kālah" iii. 1. 5 corresponding to Pāṇini's "nakṣatreṇa yuktah kālah" iv. 2. 3:

"कृत्तिकासु विशाखासु मघासु भरणीषु च" इति नक्षत्रैरेव तत्काला-भिधानमभेदोपचारात् ।

J. uses "kha" for "lopa", because *kha* means *śūnya* which amounts to the same thing as lopa. For Luk, Ślu and Lup, J. uses Up, Uc and Uś respectively (ub-uj-uś i. 1. 71), slightly varying the order of Pāṇini.

Śāk. uses Śluc for Luk and Ślup for Ślu. Corresponding to Pāṇini's "na lumatān-gasya" Śāk. has the rule "ślucígen at" i. 1. 52. Lopa and Lup are represented here by Luc. Cf. i. 2. 91-95.

He. uses Luk, Lup and Lopa. In the case of Luk there is Sthānivadbhāva, in the case of Lup there is no Sthānivadbhāva and Lopa is a general term for elision. Thus the author of the Haimaprakāśa says:

अवसानं विरामः स्यादादेशः शत्रुवद्भवेत् ।

त्रयो लुक् लुप् च लोपश्च वर्णादर्शनवाचकाः ॥

त्रय इति। लुक् लुप् लोपास्त्रयोऽप्येते वर्णस्यादर्शनं वदन्ति। परन्त्वेषामयं विशेषः। लुकि स्थानिवद्भावो भवति, लुपि तु स न भवति यथात्रैव वक्ष्यते। हे वारे। नामिनो लुग् वा [१।४।६१] इति सिलुकि, "लुकि च स्थानिवद्भावाल्लुप्तप्रत्ययनिमित्तं कार्यं स्यादिति सिना सह गुणे, हे वारे। पक्षे अनतो लुप् [१।४।५९] इति सिलुपि स्थानिवद्भावाभावाद् गुणाभावः, हे वारि" इति। लोपशब्देन तु लुक् लुप् च द्वयमप्युच्यते इति सामान्यवाची लोपशब्दः। यथा सर्वेभ्यो लोपः [प ४८] इति न्याये उभयमपि गृह्यते। (पृः १९)

Sam. uses Lopa and Luk indiscriminately, though it shows a decided preference for the latter, because it is monosyllabic. Sometimes Lopa in the Sūtra is paraphrased by Luk in the Vṛtti*. Sometimes Luk in one rule is referred to by Lopa in another. Thus in ii. 708 we find "śan·lopa" referring to "śan·lug iṇādeh" ii. 781. Pāṇini's Lup is unnecessary in this system, because it has the words "prakṛtival lin·gaṃ ca" in Taddhita Pariśiṣṭa 1402 ff.

Mu. uses Lup mostly in the Sandhi section and lays down "lupi na sandhyādyavidhi" 15 *i.e.*, when an element is elided by the word "lup", the sounds preceding and following that element do not enter into Sandhi combination, nor does any grammatical operation prescribed with reference to the preceding sound take place. Corresponding to Pāṇini's Luk Mu. has Luk also and corresponding to Pāṇini's "na lumatān·gasya" Mu. has "luki na tatra" 94. For Pāṇini's Lopa it generally uses Lopa.

Sār. distinguishes between Lopa and Lopaś, the latter is a blend of 'lopa' and 'nāśa' and corresponds to Mu.'s Lup.

For Pāṇini's Luk, Sār. also has Luk.

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*लोपोऽणमोऽतः। ६।२२
अणः सम्बन्धिनोऽमोऽकारस्य लुग् भवति।

वर्णादर्शनं लोपः। वर्णविरोधो लोपश्।

एकं वर्णं नाशयति, अन्यस्योत्पत्तिं प्रतिबध्नाति स वर्णविरोधः।

Su. follows Pāṇini.

PR. uses Luk for Pāṇini's Luk, and Lopa and Lopana for Lopa.

HN. uses Hara for Lopa and Maha-hara for Luk.

हरो यथा नाशहेतुर्भवति तथा यो विधिः प्रवर्तते स लोपो हरश्चोच्यते। तत्र हरो द्विधा भवेत्। तत्रादर्शनमात्रहेतुर्हरः। आत्यन्तिकलयहेतुर्महाहरः। लुगित्यन्ये।

ĀKRTIGANA.

In the Prātiśākhyas we find lists of words where certain grammatical operations, *e.g.*, lengthening, take place. In grammar we generally find the most important word of the group followed by *ādi* or *prabhṛti* in the rule and the full list given in the Gaṇapāṭha*. The list in the Gaṇapāṭha is generally exhaustive and a *vṛt* at the end of the gaṇa often shows this. In some cases, however, the list is not exhaustive but merely illustrative. Such lists are known as Ākṛtigaṇas. Monier Williams explains Ākṛtigaṇa thus: a list of specimens, collection of words belonging to a particular grammatical rule (not exhibiting every word belonging to that rule, but only specimens, whereas a simple gaṇa exhibits every word). The arśa-ādi list (v. 2. 127) is a well-known instance of Ākṛtigaṇa. Many gaṇas which are regarded as exhaustive by Pāṇini and read with a *vṛt* at the end are regarded as Ākṛtigaṇas by his followers because of

*sometimes the word is merely used in the plural.

the advent of new forms in the language since the days of Pāṇini.*

The Bālamanoramā explains Ākṛtigaṇa thus:

आकृत्या एवञ्जातीयकतया निर्णेतव्योऽयं गण इत्यर्थः। लोकप्रयोगानुसारेणैव्यञ्जातीयकाः शब्दा अस्मिन् गणे निवेशनीया इति यावत्।

Later critics have often been furious against grammarians for their failure to make the list exhaustive and having recourse to Ākṛtigaṇa. Thus we find in the Nyāyamañjarī:

यच्च व्याप्तिसिद्धौ सरलमुपायमपश्यतामाकृतिगणवर्णनं यच्च पदे पदे बहुलवचनं तत् सुतरामपरिशुद्धिमनुशासनस्य दर्शयति।

These Ākṛtigaṇas come in particularly handy in the case of Ārṣa-Prayogas. As Bhāskara Rāya says in his commentary on the Nityā-ṣoḍaśikārṇava (p. 269):

धातोर्बह्वर्थत्वाद् बहुलग्रहणात् पृषोदरादित्वा-
दाकृतिगणपाठेन स्वेच्छानुगुणादुणादिकल्पनातः।
छन्दसि सर्वविधीनां वैकल्पिकतावशादमुष्य मनोः
सिद्धैः कथितेऽर्थेऽस्मिन् वैयाकरणानामनुमतिः॥

'In the words of the Siddhas in this manvantara there is the approval of grammarians, because of roots expressing various senses, because of the mention of 'bahula' (in the rules), because of the pṛṣodarādi group, because of the mention of ākṛtigaṇas, because of our freedom to postulate Uṇādi suffixes as it suits our convenience and because of the optional application of all rules in regard to the Vedas.'

Murāri makes use of this technical term of grammar in the following stanza of his Anargha Rāghava:

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*Thus though 'vrīhyādi' is not regarded as an Ākṛtigaṇa in the Kāśikā, it is so regarded by Vāmana in his Kāvyālaṃkārasūtra: dhanvīti vrīhyādipāṭhāt v. 2. 57.

कुर्युः शास्त्रकथाममी यदि मनोर्वंशे मनुष्याङ्कुराः
स्याच्चेद् ब्रह्मगणोऽयमाकृतिगणस्तत्रेष्यते चेद्भवान्।
सम्राजां समिधां च साधकतमं धत्ते छिदाकारणं
धिङ् मौर्वीकुशकर्षणोल्बणकिणग्रन्थिर्ममायं करः॥ ४।४४

'If these human sprouts in the bamboo-clamp of Manu indulge in discussions on Scripture, if the category of Brāhmaṇa be an open one, and if you are to be included in that category, then fie on this hand of mine on which there are the prominent scars and callosities due to the drawing of the bow-string and kuśa-grass and which wields (the axe which is) the most potent cause of the chopping of emperors as well as of sacrificial fuel.'

The earliest use of Gaṇa in grammatical literature probably goes back to the solitary instance in RP. "ādityā devā varuṇāsureti cetyādiṣu" iv. 91, 'the words *ādityā devā varuṇā asurā* undergo shortening (of finals) before *yā* etc.' where "yetyadiṣu" is used for convenience, the full list being given in the first half of the next stanza (RP. iv. 93). VP. uses gaṇa only once in the rule "uttambhanādíny ādi-saṃśayāt" v. 38, 'the words uttambhana and the like are not analysed in the Pada-text because of doubts as to the initial of the second member' where "ādi" is used in the sense of 'prakāra' and "uttambhanādíni" merely means 'words like uttambhana' (cf. lakārasya rephah pādam an·gulim ityevamādínām CA. i. 66 and... vaśityeva-mādínām ib ii. 29). These three may be regarded as very early instances of ākṛti-gaṇa and may be compared with Pāṇini's "pṛṣodarādíni yathopadiṣṭam" vi. 3. 109. With the exception of the above cases no gaṇa is found in RP. and VP., and TP. avoids it most rigorously A fairly large number of gaṇas, however, is found in CA. K. uses them sparingly, but in several cases where Pāṇini who

uses gaṇa extensively mentions all the words, K. uses gaṇas. Thus for Pāṇini's "ap-tṛn-tṛc-svasṛ-naptṛ-neṣṭṛ-tvaṣṭṛ-kṣattṛ hotṛ-potṛ-praśāstṛṇām" vi 4. 11, K. has "svasrādīnāṃ ca" ii. 1. 69. Of the later grammarians Bhoja mentions each particular word in his Svarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa and thus tries to avoid the use of gaṇas.

UTSARGA AND APAVĀDA

Utsarga (from ut-sṛj) means 'pouring out', 'setting free', thence *utsargatah* means generally, without any limitation. So in grammatical literature *utsarga* means 'a general rule', as opposed to *apavāda* 'a special rule'. *Apavad* (from *apa* 'away from' and *vad* 'to speak') means to deny, to contradict, hence *apavāda* means 'a rule in supersession of another rule *i.e.* a special rule. In RP. Nyāya is used in the sense of Utsarga: न्यायैर्मिश्रानपवादान् प्रतीयात्* i. 53 which means the same thing as the later Paribhāṣā अपवादविषयं परिहृत्योत्सर्गोऽभिनिविशते। Commentators of the later systems of grammar like the Mugdhabodha generally use "sāmānya vidhi" and viśeṣa vidhi" for *utsarga* and *apavāda* respectively. An Apavāda is generally defined thus: येन नाप्राप्ते यो विधिरारभ्यते स तस्य बाधकः (=अपवादः) भवति।

"Prasan·ga" ('contingency, case') is a still earlier term for Utsarga. Cf. AśS. i. 1. 22: प्रसङ्गादपवादो बलीयान्.

In the introductory section of the Mahābhāṣya we find: तस्मादनभ्युपायः शब्दानां प्रतिपत्तौ प्रतिपदपाठः। कथं तर्हीमे शब्दाः प्रतिपत्तव्याः? किञ्चित् सामान्यविशेषवल्लक्षणं प्रवर्त्यं येनाल्पेन

यत्नेन महतो महतः शब्दौघान् प्रतिपद्येरन्। किं पुनस्तत्? उत्सर्गापवादौ। कथञ्जातीयकः पुनरुत्सर्गः कर्तव्यः कथञ्जातीयकोऽपवादः? सामान्येनोत्सर्गः कर्तव्यः। तद् यथा—कर्मण्यण् [३।२।१]। तस्य विशेषेणापवादः। तद् यथा—आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः [३।२।३]।

Under "nyāyair miśrān apavādān pratiyāt" RP. i. 53. Uvaṭa says:

न्याया उत्सर्गा महाविषया विधयः। अपवादा अल्पविषया विधयः।

Durgādāsa says under Mugdhabodha 21:

तथा सामान्यकार्येभ्यो विशेषकविधिर्बली।
बहवो विषया यस्य स सामान्यविधिर्भवेत्॥
अल्पः स्याद् विषयो यस्य स विशेषविधिर्मतः॥

Vāsudeva Díkṣita in his Bālamanoramā explains Apavāda thus:

अपोद्यते बाध्यतेऽनेनेत्यपवादः। बाहुलकः करणे घञ्। येन नाप्राप्ते यो विधिरारभ्यते स तस्यापवाद इत्यपवादलक्षणम्। अप्राप्ते ति भावे क्तः। येनेति कर्तरि तृतीया। द्वौ नञावावश्यकत्वं बोधयतः। यत्कर्तृकावश्यकप्राप्तौ सत्यां यो विधिरारभ्यते स आरभ्यमाणो विधिस्तस्यावश्यप्राप्तस्यापवादो बाधक इति तदर्थः। अयञ्च न्यायसिद्धः। अवङादयो हि ङित आदेशाः सर्वेऽनेकाल एव। तेषु चानेकाल्विशेषेषु विधीयमानेन ङितामन्त्यादेशत्वेन स्वविषयेऽवश्यं प्राप्तमनेकालसामान्येन विहितं सर्वादेशत्वं बाध्यते, विशेषविहितत्वान् निरवकाशत्वाच्च। विशेषशास्त्रं हि विशेषेषु झटिति प्रवर्तते, विशेषाणां स्वशब्देनोपात्तत्वात्। सामान्यशास्त्रं तु सामान्यमुखेन विशेषेषु प्रवर्तते इति तस्य तेषु मन्दप्रवृत्तिः। अतो विशेषशास्त्रं प्रबलम्। उक्तञ्च भट्टवार्त्तिके—

अवश्यमेव सामान्यं विशेषं प्रति गच्छति।
गतमात्रञ्च तत्तेन विशेषे स्थाप्यते ध्रुवम्॥ [सि. कौ. ४३]

The terms "Utsarga" and "Apavāda" are so well-known in our country that Kālidāsa, the master of figures of similitude, has no hesitation in using them as Upamānas in his Kumāra-Sambhava and Raghuvaṃśa:

लब्धप्रतिष्ठाः प्रथमं यूयं किं बलवत्तरैः ।
अपवादैरिवोत्सर्गाः कृतव्यावृत्तयः परैः ॥

'Is it that, you, who attain your dignified position before all other beings, have now been displaced by more powerful force, as general ordinances are displaced by special rules?' Kumar. ii. 27.

यः कश्चन रघूणां हि परमेकः परन्तपः ।
अपवाद इवोत्सर्गं व्यावर्तयितुमीश्वरः ॥

'As a special rule can undo a general one, so any one belonging to the race of Raghu could destroy his adversary.' Raghu. xv. 7.

Under Kumāra ii. 27 Mallinātha says:

उत्सर्गाः सामान्यशास्त्राणि "मा हिंस्यात्" इत्येवमादीनि । अपोद्यन्त एभिरित्यपवादाः । गामालभेत इत्यादयः ।

Nārāyaṇa says under the same stanza:

अपवादैः विशेषविधिभिः उत्सर्गाः सामान्यविधय इव । यथा विशेषविधिभिः सामान्यविधयः स्वस्थानान्निरस्यन्ते, तथा यूयमपि परैरिन्द्रादिस्थानान्निरस्ता एव । ... विशेषविधीनां बलोत्तरत्वं तु "सावकाशनिरवकाशयोर्निरवकाशो विधिर्बलीयान्" इति न्यायात् । सर्वे ब्राह्मणा भोजयितव्या इत्यादयः सामान्यविधयः । देवदत्तस्तु क्षीरयवागूं पाययितव्य इत्यादयो विशेषविधयः । तत्र ब्राह्मणसामान्यतः प्रथमं देवदत्तेऽपि प्राप्तं भोजयितव्यत्वं पाश्चात्त्येन विशेषविधिना निरस्यते । तत्र यदि विशेषविधिर्देवदत्तादपि निवर्तते तर्हि स निरवकाश एव स्यात् । न च विधेर्निरवकाशत्वं युक्तं कल्पयितुम् । सामान्यविधिस्तु ब्राह्मणान्तरेषु सावकाश एवेति युक्तं विशेषविधीनां बलोत्तरत्वम् ।

ANTARANGA AND BAHIRANGA

Antaran·ga as a substantive means 'any interior part of the body', as an adjective it means 'interior', 'internal'. Similarly Bahiran·ga as a substantive means 'any exterior part of the body', as an adjective it means 'exterior', 'external'. In Grammar a rule is said to be Antaran·ga with reference to another which is regarded as Bahiran·ga when the former is more closely related to the interior part or base of the word than the latter. Thus the connexion of an Upasarga with a Dhātu is Antaran·ga (धातूपसर्गयोः कार्यमन्तरङ्गम्), because we find a root changing from intransitive to transitive, from the Parasmaipada to the Ātmanepada and vice versa in connexion with different Upasargas. Again in the case of a compound within a compound, the first compound is regarded as Antaran·ga in reference to the second and so on.

Daṇḍanātha explains the expressions very clearly in his commentary on Sarasvatí Kaṇṭhābharaṇa i. 2. 84.:

अङ्गं निमित्तम् अन्तर्यस्य तदन्तरङ्गम्, बहिर्यस्य तद् बहिरङ्गम्। प्रकृतेः पूर्वं पूर्वमन्तरङ्गम्। परं परं बहिरङ्गम्। एकपदाश्रयम् अन्तरङ्गम्, उभयपदाश्रयं बहिरङ्गम्। अल्पाश्रयम् अन्तरङ्गम्, बह्वाश्रयं बहिरङ्गम्।

Durgādāsa says under Mugdhabodha 21:

बहिरङ्गविधिभ्यः स्यादन्तरङ्गविधिर्बली।
प्रत्ययाश्रित-कार्यन्तु बहिरङ्गमुदाहृतम्॥
प्रकृत्याश्रितकार्यं स्यादन्तरङ्गमिति ध्रुवम्।
प्रकृतेः पूर्वपूर्वं स्यादन्तरङ्गतरं तथा॥

Similarly we find in the Haima-laghuprakriya:

प्रकृतेराश्रितं यत् स्याद् यद् वा पूर्वं व्यवस्थितम् ।
यस्य चाल्पनिमित्तानि अन्तरङ्गं तदुच्यते ॥
प्रत्ययस्याश्रितं यत् स्याद् बहिर्वा यदवस्थितम् ।
बहूनि वा निमित्तानि बहिरङ्गं तदुच्यते ॥

Jinendra-buddhi says in his Nyāsa on i. 4. 2:

अन्तरङ्ग-बहिरङ्गयोरन्तरङ्गं बलवदिति । लोकत एव दृष्टत्वात् । लोको हि प्रातरुत्थायान्तरङ्गाणि मुखप्रक्षालनादीनि कार्याणि करोति, पश्चाद् बहिरङ्गाणि राजगृहगमनादीनि कर्तुमारभते ।

This is based on the Mahābhāṣya (i. 1. 57):

सा चाप्येषा लोकतः सिद्धा । प्रत्यङ्गवर्ती लोको लक्ष्यते । तद् यथा पुरुषोऽयं प्रातरुत्थाय यान्यस्य प्रतिशरीरं कार्यं तानि तावत् करोति, ततः सुहृदां ततः सम्बन्धिनाम् ।

Antaran·ga and Bahiran·ga are used exactly in the same senses in Patañjali's Yogasūtra where we find त्रयमन्तरङ्गं पूर्वेभ्यः and तदपि बहिरङ्गं निर्बीजस्य iii. 7-8. Similarly Sureśvara says: अन्तरङ्गं हि विज्ञानं प्रत्यङ्मात्रैकसंश्रयात् ।
बहिरङ्गं तु कर्म स्याद् बाह्यद्रव्याश्रयत्वतः ॥

In Śaṅkarācārya's Sarvavedāntasiddhāntasāra-saṃgraha we find: बहिरङ्गं श्रुतिः प्राह ब्रह्मचर्यादि मुक्तये ।
शमादिषट्कमेवैतदन्तरङ्गं विदुर्बुधाः ॥
अन्तरङ्गं हि बलवद् बहिरङ्गाद् यतस्ततः ।
शमादिषट्कं जिज्ञासोरवश्यं भाव्यमान्तरम् ॥ २२६-७

Poets have not been slow in making use of these terms in their effusions:

स्तनपत्रलतां तस्या बिभेद पुलकोद्गमः ।
सत्यं यदन्तरङ्गेण बहिरङ्गो निरस्यते ॥
मन्मथाग्निपरितप्तमनस्का चन्दनेन किमु लिम्पसि गात्रम् ।
किं न वेत्सि बहिरङ्गविधानादन्तरङ्गविधिरेव बलीयान् ॥

ADDITIONS

P. 3 f. n. ll. 1-2, p. 37, l. 12, pp. 134-135. Pāṇini's "śatṛ" corresponds to Sarvavarman's "anti" which is most unfortunate, being identical with the third person plural ending, but with *ant* Sarvavarman generally prefers *i*. Thus he prescribes the substitute *arvanti* for *arvan* in ii. 3. 22. Pāṇini's *kvasu* appears as *vansi* in Sarvavarman. It was probably this anubandha *i* that is responsible for Sāyaṇa's curious mistake in his Rgveda-bhāṣya (*e.g.*, on i. 115.1) where he often takes *vasi* in the rule "śāsi-vasi-ghaśīnāṃ ca" to mean the suffix *kvasu*. (See Vedic Selections edited by K. C. Chatterji, p. 85 f.n.) The comparative suffix *íyas* is not mentioned by Sarvavarman, but it appears to be included in "*ansi*" in ii. 4. 50 and so must have been regarded as *íyansi*. Again though Pāṇini's ktavatu is nowhere directly mentioned, since it is covered by "antu" in the rule "antv-asantasya cādhātoh sau" ii. 2. 20, Sarvavarman evidently regarded it as "tavantu." For the same reason *matup* and *vatup* appear to have been *mantu* and *vantu* according to Sarvavarman.

The anubandha *ṛ* of Pāṇini's "śatṛ" and *u* of Pāṇini's "matup" and "vatup" indicate the advent of *n* in the strong forms and the formation of the feminine with *í*. Since Sarvavarman reads the suffixes with *n* and since he specifically prescribes í in the feminine for words ending in these suffixes, these anubandhas are unnecessary for his purpose. So following his predecessors (cf. VP.) he uses the vowel *i* for ease of utterance in the case of *anti*, *vansi*, *íyansi* and *arvanti* and *u* with *mantu*, *vantu*, etc. because of the presence of the labials *v* and *m* in the preceding

syllables and because of the necessity of distinguishing them from *anti* for purposes of declension.

It may be mentioned in this connexion that acc. to modern philologists the *n* of *mantu*, *vantu*, *tavantu* and *anti* is original, that of *vansi* and *iyansi* analogical.

In the Mahābhāṣya on "aun·a āpah" vii. 1. 18 we find two Śloka-vārttikas discussing the utility of the anubandha *n·* in the rule. In the last verse of these two stanzas we read:

निर्देशोऽयं पूर्वसूत्रेण वा स्यात् ।

Patañjali explains this thus:

अथवा पूर्वसूत्रनिर्देशोऽयम् । पूर्वसूत्रेषु च येऽनुबन्धा न तैरिहेत्कार्याणि क्रियन्ते ।

'Or the *n· of aun·* is due to the mention of *aun·* in the rule of a predecessor of Pāṇini. And the grammatical operations due to anubandhas or indicatory letters in the rules of Pāṇini's predecessors are not carried out in this system.'

The difficulty arises thus: Since Pāṇini prescribes the substitution of *śi* for *aun·* in the case of ā-stems, and since by *aun·* he evidently means the endings of the nom. and acc. du. read as *au* and *auṭ* respectively in his system, these two endings have to be regarded as *n·it*. So these endings will have to admit the āgama *yā* acc. to "yāḍ āpah" vii. 3. 113 which prescribes the āgama *yā* before endings with an indicatory *n·* in the case of ā-stems. To prevent the advent of this *yā*, the author of the Śloka-vārttikas says that *au* is not *n·it* acc. to Pāṇini, but acc. to his predecessors, and as Pāṇini makes use of the older term *aun·* simply to secure ease of utterance and as the indicatory letters in his system and in those of his predecessors do not always coincide,

we are not to import *yā* acc. to Pāṇini's rule "yāḍ āpah", because of the presence of the anubandha *n·* in the works of Pāṇini's predecessors.

So what Patañjali means is that if an anubandha is present in the systems of Pāṇini's predecessors and absent in his own system, it will have no indicatory value so far as the latter is concerned. It does not mean that the values of indicatory letters differ in different systems (though, of course, they sometimes do differ). As Kaiyaṭa explains:

पूर्वाचार्यैर्द्वे अपि द्विवचने ङितौ पठिते। न चेह क्वचिदप्यौङ्-प्रत्ययोऽस्ति। सामान्यग्रहणार्थं च पूर्वसूत्रनिर्देशः। तेन यः पूर्वसूत्र औङ् तस्य ग्रहणं भवतीति प्रथमा-द्वितीया-द्विवचन-ग्रहण-सिद्धिः।

'Ancient grammarians have mentioned both the dual endings with an indicatory *n·*. In our system, however, the suffix *aun·* does not occur anywhere. The method of the ancient grammars has been followed here (in this particular case) simply to denote both the '*aun·*'s. So by *aun·* (in our rule) is meant the *aun·* which is found in ancient grammars and therefore both the nominative and the acc. dual endings are included.'

Jinendra-buddhi quotes a rule from a predecessor of Pāṇini, but unfortunately fails to mention the name of the author. He says:

पूर्वाचार्याणान्तु सूत्रे द्वे अप्येते द्विवचने ङितौ पठ्येते। तथाहि "आवौटावौङ्" इति तत्र सूत्रपाठः।

The rule evidently frames the technical term "aun·" for the two endings *au* (nom. du.) and *auṭ* (acc. du.), just as Pāṇini has the technical term "dā" for the roots *dā* and *dhā*. So *n·* here is not an anubandha at all. The author of the Śloka-vārttikas, therefore, was probably thinking of some other predecessor of Pāṇini in whose work *aun·* was

given as the ending for the nom. and acc. du. This ancient grammarian probably used the anubandha *ṭ* for Pāṇini's *n·* in the case of the sup-terminations. Thus for Pāṇini's *au* and *auṭ* he used *aun·* and for Pāṇini's *ṭā* he used *ān·*. The Nyāsa says under vii. 3. 105:

आचार्या हि पूर्वे आङिति तृतीयैकवचननिर्देशं कुर्वन्ति स्म, तस्मात् तदीयेन "आङ्" इति निर्देशेन तृतीयैकवचनं गृह्यते।

Pāṇini uses these sometimes with vocalic endings for simplicity.

There is hardly any doubt that Pāṇini introduced several new indicatory letters and that the value of some of the old indicatory letters was changed or augmented, but a careful comparison of the anubandhas of Pāṇini with those of K. leads one to the conclusion that most of the older anubandhas were retained by Pāṇini and that in most cases the indicatory significance is the same in Pāṇini as in the older grammarians.

In RP. and TP. we do not find any indicatory letter. VP. uses "nu" with the anubandha *u* in its Adhikāra rule "nuh" iii. 133. Uvaṭa merely paraphrases it by nakārah, but Anantabhaṭṭa explains: nur iti nakārasya saṃjñā. We meet with "nu" again several times in Chap. IV:

नुश्चान्तःपदेऽरेफे ४।२, नुश्चाम्रेड़िते ४।९, नुश्चानुनासिकम् ४।१४

Similarly VP. uses "si" for s, "mi" for m, and "yi" for y. Hence VP. has got the rule "svarair api" i. 40.

The most important anubandha in VP. is probably found in the word "vāṃsau" in the rule:

वांसौ च भूतकाले स्वरेण ह्रस्वादनुषि ५।११

"Vāṃsau" may be the loc. sing. of 'vāṃsi' or 'vāṃsu' CA. has 'vasu' for 'kvasu' in 'vasvantasya pañca-padyām" i. 88 and 'vasau hrasvāt" iv. 35. Pāṇini also uses 'kvasu'

and 'vasu' for this suffix. K., however, uses "vansi" throughout. In ii. 4. 50 'ansi' is used for 'vansi'. In the Kṛdvṛtti, however, the suffix is read as 'kvansu' or 'vansu' after Pāṇini's 'kvasu'. Similarly Pāṇini's "śatṛ" is represented in K. as 'anti', though in the Kṛdvṛtti, following Pāṇini, Vararuci uses śantṛn·. All this sets up a strong presumption in favour of 'vānsi' in VP.

CA. uses a larger number of anubandhas than VP. and shows a very close approximation to Pāṇini. As in the Aṣṭādhyāyí, we find *san* (i. 86), *vasu* (i. 88, iv. 35), *suñ* for the particle *su* (ii. 97, cf. Pāṇini viii. 3. 107), *uñ* for the particle u (iii. 4) and *tātil* (iv. 20). *Matu* occurs here (iii. 17, iv. 17) for Pāṇini's *matup* and *matvartha* (iv. 47) is found in both. Unlike Pāṇini's *vati* the parimāṇārtha suffix here is *vatu* (iv. 48). This would appear to be more scientific, as the two suffixes must have been originally identical. It may be mentioned in this connexion that Pāṇini's *íyasun* appears here as *íyas*, *mayaṭ* as *maya*, *jātíyar* as *jātíya* and *thāl* as *thā* (iv. 15), without anubandha. Moreover, the suffixes kyac, kyan· etc. are referred to here as yakārādi (iii. 18, iv. 29), showing that in the system of grammar followed by this Prātiśākhya the anubandha *ka* was wanting in these suffixes. Roots are generally indicated by an *i* affixed to them (muci ii. 76, svapi ii. 86, sadi ii. 99, vyadhi iii. 3 etc.) as also by means of the suffix *śtip*.

P. 4. Similarly in Varāhamihira's Bṛhaj-jātaka we find *śa*, *ku*, *bu*, *gu*, *śu*, *ca* and *sa* standing respectively for *śanaiścara*, *kuja*, *budha*, *guru*, *śukra*, *candra* and *savitṛ* in

श-कु-बु-गु-शु-च-साद्याः वृद्धितो वीर्यवन्तः २।१९

P. 5. Again Durga says under iv. 1. 45: क्लिष्टपाठोऽक्षराधिक्यादपि गरीयान्। Under ii. 1. 80 Durga has a fling

at Pāṇini: इह विदधद् यथासंख्यं लघु-विस्पष्टार्थं प्रक्रियाविकलानुपहसतीव भगवान् (!) याट्-साट्-आटः प्रकुर्वाणान्।

The Pañjí says in the Samāsa-section which it regards as the work of Sarvavarman:

एवमुत्तरेष्वपि योगेषु शब्दलाघवं न चिन्तनीयम्, अर्थप्रतीतिलाघवस्य सर्ववर्मणोऽनभिप्रेतत्वात्।

P. 11. Parokṣā occurs in the Ślokavārttika—jñāpakān na parokṣāyām i. 2. 18.

P. 12, 1. 2. Durga thinks these are arbitrary technical terms and says under ii. 1. 20: पञ्चमी सप्तमी परस्मैपदवत् निरन्वया संज्ञा।

P. 15, 1. 21. Acc. to Aristotle also "the Verb is distinguished from the Noun as connoting time." Sandys, i. 98.

P. 18. GUNA. Of the eminent Sanskrit Grammarians Pāṇini alone regards *a* as a Guṇa vowel. Though it is hardly logical to speak of *a* as the Guna of *a*, still Pāṇini includes *a* in the list of Guṇa vowels for the sake of brevity and uniformity. He probably thought that the Guṇas of vowels should also be vowels and so he lays down that *a* is the guna of ṛ, but in this particular case *a* is to be followed by *r** acc. to another rule (ur aṇ ra-paraḥ i. 1. 51). Again in conjugation *a* is dropped before *a*, *e* and *o* of endings. Here Pāṇini has combined *a*, *e* and *o* under the general name Guṇa (ato guṇe vi. 1. 97).

It is interesting to note in this connexion that acc. to philologists also "both *a* and *ā* represent the guṇa or normal stage in the gradation of the *a*-vowels in many

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*वृद्धिर्भवति, गुणो भवतीति रेफशिरा गुणवृद्धिसंज्ञकोऽभिनिवर्तते। ६।४।१२१ महाभाष्यम्।

roots'' (Macdonell, Vedic Grammar, p. 16, f.n. 5).

P. 22. Add after line 13:

असंशयं सा गुणदीर्घभावकृतां दधाना वितर्तिं यदीया ।
विधायिका शब्दपरम्पराणां किञ्चारचि व्याकरणेन काञ्ची ॥

नैषध १०।३८

गुणोऽपि नूनं दोषाय दुषिधातोः खलस्य च ।
सन्मार्गसिद्धये वृद्धिर्मृजेः साधुजनस्य च ॥

Of the lesser grammarians J. alone follows Pāṇini. K. and others regard *a*, *o*, *ar* and *al* as Guṇas.

P. 22 VRDDHI. Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyí begins with the word Vṛddhi, Sarvavarman's Kātantra, as it has come down to us, ends with Vṛddhi*. Sarvavarman stands alone among Sanskrit grammarians in not admitting *ā* into the category of Vṛddhi vowels. He thought that since *ā* was a dírgha vowel the term Vṛddhi should be confined to *ai*, *au* and *ār*. In this Sarvavarman appears to be followng the predecessors of Pāṇini. It is interesting to note that modern philologists agree with these ancient grammarians. Thus we find in Macdonell's Vedic Grammar for Students: The radical vowel, as a rule, takes Vṛddhi (**a** being lengthened) in the active [of the root aorist]. The corresponding rules in K. are: [अस्योपधाया दीर्घो वृद्धिर्नामिनामिनिचट्सु ।] सिचि परस्मै स्वरान्तानाम् । व्यञ्जनान्तानामनिटाम् । अस्य च दीर्घः । ४।२।५-८

P. 22. RT. appears to use ''dvivarṇa'' for ''vṛddhi'' in the rule ''sandhyaṃ dvivarṇam'' 95 (sandhyakṣaraṃ dvivarṇam āpadyate—Vṛtti). In the Āpiśali-Śikṣā the Sandhyakṣaras are described as ''dvivarṇa''—''dvivarṇaṃ sandhyakṣaram''. In the Puṣpasūtra and its commentary

*वृद्धिरादैच् । पा १।१।१, आरुत्तरे च वृद्धिः । का ४।८।३५

Vṛddhi is used in the sense of Pluta also, and the root *vṛdh* is used in the sense of 'to become prolated.'

P. 24. SAMPRASĀRAṆA. It will be noticed that two distinct views are held by Sanskrit grammarians. Acc. to Pāṇini and K., the change of *y*, *r*, *l* and *v* into *i*, *u*, *ṛ* and *ḷ* is Samprasāraṇa. Acc. to others the change of the semi-vowels *along with the following vowels* into *i*, *u*, *ṛ* and *ḷ* constitutes Samprasāraṇa.

It would appear from the derivation of "iṣṭi" in AB. i. 2. 1 that the author was unacquainted with the phenomenon of Samprasāraṇa, since he derives "iṣṭi" in the sense of yāga from the root *iṣ*, and not from the root *yaj*. But it must be remembered that the authors of the Brāhmaṇas were intent on showing some connexion between the name of the sacrifice and the result of the sacrifice* and consequently they often deliberately resorted to fanciful etymologies. So it would not be safe to draw any conclusion from the etymologies found scattered in the Brāhmaṇas.

P. 25. Cf. Plato's Cratylus 414c: You must remember that all languages are in a process of disguise or transition; and letters are taken out or put in at pleasure, and twisted and twisted about in the lapse of ages—sometimes for the sake of euphony.

P. 32, 1. 3. Mādhava says in his Rgvedānukramaṇí:

लुङ्-लङ्-लृङ्क्ष्वडुदात्तो यः स भूतार्थस्य वाचकः ।
वाचकान् प्रत्ययानाहुस्तत्राकारं स्फुटं वदेत् ॥ १।११३।१

P. 35. Nāgeśa remarks rightly under "is-usoḥ sāmarthye" S. K. 158:

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*यज्ञो वै देवेभ्य उदक्रामत्, तमिष्टिभिः प्रैषमैच्छन्, यदिष्टिभिः प्रैषमैच्छंस्तदिष्टीनामिष्टित्वम् ।

See Calcutta Oriental Journal, Vol. I, No. 3, p. 77.

अयामन्ताल्वाय्येत्न्विषु इति सूत्रं व्याकरणान्तररीत्यैव, सर्वनामस्थानमिति महासंज्ञावत् ।

P. 37. With the "ghuṭ" of K. cf. Nāradí Śikṣā vii. 16: द्विविधा गतिः पदान्तः स्थितसन्धिः सहोष्मभिः ।

पञ्चस्वेतेषु स्थानेषु विज्ञेयं घुटसंज्ञितम् ॥

P. 40. पदशब्दः पादशब्दसमानार्थकोऽकारान्तश्छन्दसि दृश्यते— "तस्याः सप्ताक्षरमेकं पदम् ।" एकः पाद इत्यर्थः । Mahābhāṣya ed. Kielhorn II. 191. 26-27.

P. 42. अर्थात् पदं स्वाभिधेयं पदाद् वाक्यार्थनिर्णयः ।

पदसङ्घातजं वाक्यं वाक्यसङ्घातजं पदम् ॥ बृहद्देवता २।११७

वर्णसमुदायः पदम् । पदसमुदाय ऋक् । ऋक्समुदायः सूक्तमित्युच्यते । महाभाष्य २।१।२१

P. 44. After 1. 21 read:

पदे वाक्ये प्रमाणे च परां निष्ठामुपागता ।

अतो विद्वज्जनस्यास्य स्पृहणीया मृगेक्षणा ॥

APr. uses "sārvadhātuka" in "vāso dadāti bhartava iti sārvadhātuke" 125. Apr. has "dadāteh. iti sārvadhātuke" ii. 4. 1-2.

P. 45. With the ā-stem "sārvadhātukā" cf. "dārśapaurṇamāsikā" in AŚS. ii. 17. 2 and "pāśubandhikā" in AŚS. iii. 1. 8.

P. 47. One of the most ancient rules of grammar preserved in the Kātantra, as it is now extant in Bengal, is "ṣaḍādyāh sārvadhātukam" iii. 1. 34. The previous ten rules mention Vartamānā, Saptamí, Pañcamí, Hyastaní, Adyataní, Parokṣā, Śvastaní, Āśíh, Bhaviṣyantí and Kriyātipatti. One feels, therefore, naturally inclined to take the first six *viz.* Vartamānā, Saptamí, Pañcamí, Hyastaní, Adyataní and Parokṣā as meant by the expression "ṣaḍādyāh". But Parokṣā can by no stretch of the imagi-

nation be regarded as Sārvadhātuka, and Pāṇini distinctly lays down that Liṭ is Ārdhadhātuka ("ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ. liṭ ca." iii. 4. 114-5). Moreover, if Adyataní and Parokṣā be regarded as Sārvadhātukas we cannot have the union-vowel *i* in the case of their consonantal endings, for Sarvavarman prescribes the āgama "iṭ" in the case of a-sārvadhātuka endings ("iḍāgamo' sārvadhātukasyāder vyañjanāder ayakārādeh" iv. 3. 1). Then again the Kātantra lays down that with the exception of the first person of the Imperative, all the Ātmanepada endings are weak in the case of the Sārvadhātuka vibhaktis ("sarvesām ātmane sārvadhātuke 'nuttame pañcamyāh" iv. 1. 18), yet it says that the Ātmanepada endings of Parokṣā are all weak ("sarvatrātmane" iv. 1. 21). Again K. directs that the duals and plurals of the Parasmaipada in the case of the Sārvadhātukas are to be regarded as weak ("dvitva-bahutvayoś ca parasmai" iv. 1. 19), yet it says that the duals and plurals of the Parokṣā also are to be regarded as weak. It is clear from all this that Sarvavarman does not regard Adyataní and Parokṣā as Sārvadhātukas. This obvious anomaly has led the Vṛttikāra and subsequent commentators to explain the rule thus: ṣaṇṇāṃ vibhaktínām ādyā vartamānā-saptamí-pañcamí-hyastanyaś catasro vibhaktayah sārvadhātuka-saṃjñā bhavanti. This explanation can hardly be accepted. In the first place, we do not generally find Tatpuruṣa-compounds with numerals like "ṣaḍādyāh". Secondly, there is no reason why the author should go out of his way to mention the first six out of the ten. Thirdly the plural in "ādyāh" should normally mean three and not four according to the Kapiñjalādhikaraṇa in the Mímāṃsā philosophy (xi. 1. 38-45). We may say like the orthodox commentators: बहुत्वस्य प्रथमतस्त्रित्व एव चरितार्थत्वात्, प्रथमोपस्थितस्य

च परित्यागे कारणाभावात्, अत्र षट्सु प्राथमिक्यस्तिश्र एव विभक्तयो ग्राह्याः।

Thus we see that the explanation rejected by the commentators as also the one offered by them are equally unsatisfactory. The first five are Sārvadhātuka acc. to Pāṇini, Vopadeva, and others. And we know that Leṭ is also Sarvadhātuka in Pāṇini. So by "ṣaḍādyāh sārvadhātukam" the author means the first six, *viz.*, the present, the imperfect, the aorist, the imperative, the optative and the subjunctive. As the subjunctive is confined to the Vedas and as K. studiously avoids all reference to Vedic forms, we can only conclude that this is a rule from an ancient grammar* which placed the subjunctive (Naigamí) among the first six tenses and moods, most probably after the optative. Later redactors did not think it worth their while to change this rule, as "ṣaḍādyāh" could be easily explained away as "ṣaṭsu ādyāś catasrah". They, however, appear to have changed "sārvadhātukāh" into "sārvadhātukam" after Pāṇini's rule "tin-śit sārvadhātukam" iii. 4. 113. It will be noticed that all the names of the tenses and moods are feminine in K. and we learn from commentators like Mādhava that Apiśali used the feminine form Śārvadhātukā.

P. 50. In the Ślokavārttika "yatra vṛddhir acām ādes tatraicāv atra ghor hi sā" vii. 3. 3. 3, "ghu" is used in the sense of 'uttara-pada'. Thus the Bhāṣya says: kim idam ghor iti? uttara-padasyeti. See p. 194.

P. 52. Kaccāyana in his Pali Grammar uses "jha" for masc. *i*- and *í*-stems, "la" for masc. *u*- and *ū*-stems, "pa" for fem. *i*-, *í*-, *u*- and *ū*-stems and "gha" for fem. *ā*-stems. "Jha" and "la" were probably suggested by

*"Bhis ais vā" ii. 1. 48 is another rule of this kind.

Pāṇini's rule "iko jhal" i. 2. 9, "gha" by Pāṇini's "ghi" and "pa" by Pāṇini's "n·ip".

P. 53 top. For "nadí" C. generally uses "n·yūn·".

P. 55. For "ghi" C. has "idut" (vi. 2. 49). For "nadí" Hc. has "Nitya-dit", *i.e.*, that which always takes on endings with an indicatory *d*. Thus for Pāṇini's "nadyṛtaś ca" v. 4. 153 Hc. has "ṛn-nitya-ditah" vii. 3. 171. The fact is Hc. adds an indicatory *d* to the substitutes for the *n·it* endings in the case of the stems designated "nadí" by Pāṇini and others. The idea of this *d* was evidently suggested by "nadí."

P. 58. K. uses "nāman" in the sense of 'an inflected word' in "nāmna ātmecchāyāṃ yin" iii. 2. 5 (syādyantam iha nāmeṣṭam), but "lin·ga" in "ini lin·gasyānekākṣarasyāntyasvarāder lopah". In the Samāsa-section, which is not the work of Sarvavarman, we find "nāmnāṃ samāso yuktārthah".

Under Nir. i. 1. 9 Durga explains "nāman" thus:

नमन्त्याख्यातशब्दे गुणभावेन, नमन्ति वा स्वमर्थमाख्यातशब्द-वाच्ये गुणभावेनेति नाम।

The Pañjí on K. ii. 1. 1 explains "lin·ga" thus:

अन्वर्थसंज्ञा चेयम्। लिङ्ग्यते चिह्न्यतेऽनेनैकदेशेनार्थो गम्यत इति लिङ्गम्। अविस्पष्टार्थप्रतीतिहेतुरुच्यते। अत एव वाक्यस्यार्थवतोऽपि लिङ्गसंज्ञा न भवति, तस्य विवक्षित-सम्पूर्ण-स्पष्टार्थप्रतिपादकत्वात् तथा कृत्तद्धित-समासानामप्यर्थवत्त्वात् लिङ्ग-संज्ञा सिद्धा।

In the Kāvyālaṃkāra-sūtra of Vāmana "nāman" is used as opposed to "dhātu":

तद्धातुनामभागभेदे स्वरसन्ध्यकृते प्रायेण। २।२।४

P. 63. With K.'s definition of "lin·ga", cf. Vaiyākaraṇa-bhūṣaṇa-sāra (ed. Bombay Sanskrit Series, p. 82):

अथ तिप् तस् इत्यारभ्य ङ्योः सुप् इति तिप्-प्रत्याहारो भाष्य-सिद्धः। तस्माद् अतिप् प्रातिपदिकमित्येव सूत्र्यताम्, कृतमर्थवदिति सूत्रद्वयेन। समासग्रहणं च नियमार्थमस्तु। तथाच अतिप् तिङन्तभिन्न प्रातिपदिकमित्यर्थात् समासस्यापि सा स्यादिति चेत्, प्रत्येकं वर्णेषु संज्ञावारणायार्थवत्त्वावश्यकत्वेन समासाव्याप्तितादवस्थ्यमेव।

P. 63. Medhātithi says under Manu ii. 122:

असौ इति सर्वनाम सर्वविशेषप्रतिपादकम्।

Does Yāska use "saṃkhyā-nāman" for numerals in Nir. iv. 6: त्रितस्तीर्णतमो मेधया बभूव। अपि वा संख्यानामैवाभिप्रेतं स्यात्। एकतो द्वितस्त्रित इति त्रयो बभूवुः।

Durgādāsa says in his com. on Mu.: sarveṣām buddhis-thānāṃ nāma. The Prakriyā-Sarvasva says:

महासंज्ञा इहान्वर्थाः सर्वनामपदं यथा।
सर्वान्ययत्तदाद्या हि सर्वार्थस्यापि वाचकाः॥

P. 67, 1. 9. See p. 99 footnote. Cf. also BD. i. 31:

नाकर्मकोऽस्ति भावो वै न नामास्ति निरर्थकम्।
नान्यत्र भावान्नामानि तस्मात् सर्वाणि सर्वतः॥

P. 69. "Ākhyāta" is used in the sense of a finite verb in the Gaṇa-sūtra "ākhyātam ākhyātena kriyā-sātatye" (tin-antaṃ tin-antena samasyate kriyā-sātatye gamyamāne —Nyāsa) under "mayūra-vyaṃsakādayaś ca" ii. 1. 72.

Jagadīśa says in the Śabda-śkti-prakāśikā 97: tin-ākhyātayoh paryāyatvāt.

P. 70, 1. 10. Dhātu is found in Chāndogya U. vi. 5. 13 ff.: अन्नमशितं त्रेधा विधीयते। तस्य यः स्थविष्ठो धातुस्तत् पुरीषं भवति, यो मध्यमस्तन्मांसम्, योऽणिष्ठस्तन्मनः।...

P. 73. After 1. 18, add: In Kuttanīmata 12 we have "पदवेदिषु यत्र धातुवादित्वम्" 'where speaking of dhātus

is found only among grammarians (and not among alchemists)'.

विभज्य सेनां परमार्थकर्मा सेनापतींश्चापि पुरन्दरोऽथ ।
नियोजयामास स शत्रुसैन्ये करोतिरर्थेष्विव सर्वधातून् ॥

Attributed to Bhaṭṭi in the Śabdakaustubha

एकोऽप्यनेकानविहीनसत्त्वो विहीनसत्त्वान् प्रपलायमानान् ।
जग्राह शक्रो हृदयेषु दैत्यान् करोतिरर्थेष्विव सर्वधातून् ॥

Quoted by Vidyāsāgara under K. ii. 4. 13.

P. 73. "Abhyāsa" is used in the sense of 'repetition' (of ṛk) in AŚS. iii. 1. 11 "anabhyāsam eke" (prathamottamayor anabhyāsam ity arthaḥ—Com.). See also AŚS. vii. 10. 6, viii. 1. 13 etc.

P. 77. Cf. Nir. ii. 2: अथापि प्रकृतय एवैकेषु भाष्यन्ते, विकृतय एकेषु । (धातोराख्यातपदभावेन यः प्रयोगः सा प्रकृतिः । नामीभूतस्य तस्यैव यः प्रयोगः सा विकृतिः । दुर्गः)

The Kātantra school uses "prākṛta" for "ān·ga" of the Pāṇini school.

P. 50. प्रकृतिः सा जयत्याद्या यया धात्वादिरूपया ।
व्यज्यन्ते शब्दरूपाणि परप्रत्ययसन्निधेः ॥ प्रक्रिया-कौमुदी ।
प्रकृतिप्रत्ययोपेतः सद्वृत्तः साधुसम्मतः ।
अर्थार्पणसमर्थश्च सुश्लोक इव सज्जनः ॥ सु र भा ४६।५४
यदिन्दोरन्वेति व्यसनमुदयं वा निधिरपा-
मुपाधिस्तत्रायं जयति जनिकर्तुः प्रकृतिता ।
अयं कः सम्बन्धो यदनुहरते तस्य कुमुदं
विशुद्धाः शुद्धानां ध्रुवमनभिसन्धिप्रणयिनः ॥ ५१।२३५

P. 80 bottom. Cf. 'more' and 'most' as forming comparatives and superlatives in English. Cf. also Mahābhāṣya iii. 1. 2:

द्वयसजादीनां च केवलानां प्रयोगो दृश्यते। किमस्य द्वयसम्, किमस्य मात्रम्, काद्य तिथीति। द्वयसजादयो वै वृत्तिजसदृशा अवृत्तिजा यथा बहुस्तथा।

P. 82. Add before APRKTA:

प्रसादः। प्रत्ययमवधिं कृत्वा यः पूर्वमुपादीयते शब्दः सा प्रकृतिः, प्रकर्षेण नियमेनास्मात् प्रत्ययः क्रियते इति वा प्रकृतिः भू इत्यादिः। धातु-प्रातिपदिक-ङ्यन्ताबन्त-सुबन्त-तिङन्तानि।

P. 86 top. Cf. शब्दानां साधनं यत्र कारकाणाञ्च निर्णयः।
समासस्तद्धितो यत्र स चतुष्टय उच्यते॥

P. 88. Before NISTHĀ AND SAT add:

In Subandhu's Vāsavadattā (Vani Vilasa Press ed., p. 334) occurs the line: व्याकरणमिव स्त्री-नदी-कृत्य-बहुलम् 'abounding in the actions of rivers even as grammar abounds with feminine forms, words technically termed "nadī" and gerundive suffixes.

P. 89. RT. uses Niṣṭhā in the rule "niṣṭhāyām it tādau" 234.

P. 90. अङ्गीकृततितिक्षः सेड् गुणिनिष्ठापरो यथा।
मृषिस्तथा विजयते श्रीरामो राजसत्तमः॥
पद्यामृततरङ्गिणी ४५

'Rāma, the best of kings, whose accepted creed is forgiveness, who is given to devotion, who is an object of praise and who is possessed of all good qualities is all-conquering like the root *mṛṣ* which with the union vowel *i*(*ṭ*) takes guṇa in the past participle in the sense of forgiveness (P. i. 2. 20)'.

P. 92. Cf. Nyāsa iv. 1. 76: महत्याः संज्ञायाः करण एतत् प्रयोजनम्, अन्वर्थसंज्ञा यथा विज्ञायेत—तेभ्यो हिता स्तद्धिताः। तदित्यनेन लौकिका वैदिकाश्च शब्दाः प्रत्यवमृश्यन्ते, तेषां व्युत्पाद्य-

त्वेन प्रकृतत्वात्। तेन तत्रैव भवन्त्यणादयो यत्र च भवन्तस्तेषामुपकारिणो भवन्ति, नान्यत्रेति। तेनाभिधानलक्षणत्वं तद्धितानामुपपन्नं भवति।

P. 93 bottom. The samāsāntas are regarded as Taddhita by Pāṇini. Sam. distinctly says: "sa ca taddhitah" vii. 253.

अथ तद्धिताधिकारः स्त्रीप्रत्ययानामादित एव कस्मान्न क्रियते? किमेवं सति भवति? ङ्याबन्तमपि तद्धितान्तत्वात् प्रातिपदिकमिति ङ्याप्प्रातिपदिकात् [४।१।१] इत्यत्र ङ्याब्ग्रहणं न कर्तव्यं भवति, प्राचां ष्फस्तद्धिते [४।१।१७] इत्यत्र च तद्धितग्रहणम्, यस्येति च [६।४।१४८] इतीकारग्रहणं च, तद्धित इत्येवं सिद्धत्वात्। अशक्यमेवं कर्तुम्। एवं हि क्रियमाणे तत्र ङ्याब्-ग्रहणस्य यत् पूर्वं प्रयोजनमुक्तं तन्न स्यात्, ङीप्-ङीष्-ङीनाञ्च ङकारस्येत्संज्ञा, 'अतद्धिते' [१।३।८] इति प्रतिषेधात्। इह च पट्वीति 'ओ गुणः' [६।४।१४६] इति गुणः स्यात्। न्यास ४।१।७६

P. 98. Cf. Nāṭya-śāstra xiv. 9: विभक्तयः सुप्तिङ्वचनानि। तैः कारकशक्तयो लिङाद्युपग्रहाश्चोपलक्ष्यन्ते।

P. 109. "Saṃkrama" is also found in one of two* stanzas quoted in the Kāśikā on vii. 1. 35, but not occurring in the Mahābhāṣya, nor commented upon in the Nyāsa. The Padamañjarī says: तातङि ङित्त्वमिति श्लोकद्वयं क्वचित् पठ्यते।

P. 112. The Bālamanoramā says under "kartari śap" S. K. 2167: तिङि परे धातोर्विहितानां प्रत्ययानां शबादीनां विकरण-संज्ञा प्राचीनाचार्यसिद्धा।

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*तातङि ङित्त्वं संक्रमकृत् स्यादन्त्यविधिश्चेत् तच्च तथा नः।
हेरधिकारे हेरधिकारो लोपविधौ तु ज्ञापकमाह॥
तातङो ङित्त्वसामर्थ्यान्नायमन्त्यविधिः स्मृतः।
न तद्वदनङादीनां तेन तेऽन्त्यविकारजाः॥

Cf. Vṛtti on K. iii. 2. 36: प्रकृतिप्रत्यययोरर्थाभिधाने न-शब्देनैव [=नविकरणेनैव] साहाय्यं कृतम्। The Tīkā says: सार्वधातुकस्याभिधेये सहायभावमापतता न-शब्देन।

Weak suffixes are indicated by the anubandha ṇ instead of *k or n* in K., probably acc. to the "lucus a non lucendo" principle, since ṇ is part of '*guṇa*', and before this ṇ, no guṇa takes place. It is also just possible, though hardly probable, that ṇ is the disguised form of *na*, meaning 'no guṇa takes place'.

K. has no separate Vikaraṇa for juhotyādi roots which are regarded as included in the adādi group. For tudādi also no separate Vikaraṇa is prescribed in K., *an* being added to both bhvādi and tudādi roots. K. regards *āna* as a separate Vikaraṇa for kryādi roots ending in consonants before the Imperative second singular parasmaipada ending.

P. 117. "Lin·ga" is used in the sense of 'śabdasāmarthya' in the Mīmāṃsā-sūtra and in Bhartṛhari's well-known stanza:

संसर्गो विप्रयोगश्च साहचर्यं विरोधिता।
अर्थः प्रकरणं लिङ्गं शब्दस्यान्यस्य सन्निधिः॥

In the next stanza Bhartṛhari uses 'vyakti' in the sense of 'gender':

सामर्थ्यमौचिती देशः कालव्यक्तिस्वरादयः।
शब्दार्थस्यानवच्छेदे विशेषस्मृतिहेतवः॥

P. 126. RP. has "dvi-vacah" for "dvi-vacana" in i. 71. CA. ii. 47 has एकामन्त्रिते द्वौ द्विवचनान्तस्य.

P. 129, 1. 13. प्रथमादिषु पुरुषसंज्ञा तु प्राचीनाचार्यशास्त्रसिद्धेति बोध्यम्। बालमनोरमा। १६०

"Prathama," "madhyama" and "uttama" are often

used in the same order in the Brāhmaṇas: त्रीन् प्रथमायां रोहति। भूतं भवद् भविष्यत्—तानवरुन्धे। त्रीन् मध्यमायां रोहति। आत्मानं प्रजां पशून्—तानवरुन्धे। त्रीनुत्तमायां रोहति—त्रय इमे लोकाः। एष्वेव लोकेषु प्रतितिष्ठति। ताण्ड्यमहाब्राह्मणम् ७।७।७

P. 130, l. ii. After पा। add तिङस्त्रीणि त्रीणि प्रथम-मध्यमोत्तमाः १।४।१०४.

P. 133. He. uses "anubandha" in the Bṛhad-vṛtti on i. 1. 17: इ-ज-श-ट-ङ-पा अनुबन्धाः। (अनुबध्यते कार्यार्थमुपदिश्यत इत्यनुबन्धः। लघुन्यासः)

The Haimaprakāśa explains "it" thus:

वर्णो वर्णसमूहो वा पाठे समुपलभ्यते।
न दृश्यते प्रयोगे यः स इत्संज्ञकः स्मृतः॥

P. 151. अनुषङ्ग-संज्ञाया गुरुकरणेनान्वर्थताबलात् संयोगान्त-लोपं बाधित्वा प्रागेवानुषङ्गलोपः। तथाहि कार्यान्तरस्य प्रसक्तावपि अनुषज्यते इत्यनुषङ्गः। का २।१।१ कविराजः।

The stanza "nakārādau" etc. is attributed to Vopadeva by Durgādāsa under Mu. 226.

P. 147, last line. सूत्रवार्त्तिकप्रामाण्यादुभयलिङ्गः संहित-शब्दः। लघुमञ्जूषा, पृः ६६६

P. 150. The Kātantra school says:

स्वरसन्धिर्व्यञ्जनसन्धिः प्रकृतिसन्धिस्तथैव च।
अनुस्वारो विसर्गश्च सन्धिः स्यात् पञ्चलक्षणः॥

P. 158. The name 'abhinihita' is appropriate acc. to the system followed by Pāṇini who prescribes ekādeśa. 'Abhinihata' is apt acc. to the system followed by K. who prescribes the elision of the *a*.

P. 161. Nyūn·kha is explained clearly by Sāyaṇa under AB. xxi. 3.

P. 163 bottom. Cf. Sāyaṇa under RV. iii. 30. 9: यद्वा सम एव सामः। तथाच शतपथे श्रूयते—"यदेव समः प्लुषिणा समो मशकेन समो नागेन सम एतैस्त्रिभिर्लोकैस्तस्मात् सामः" [श ब्रा १४।४।१] इति।

Sāman is used in AA. iii. 1. 5 in the sense of 'sandhi' and in TS. vii. 2. 1 in the sense of 'equalisation'.

P. 164 top. Thus भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि is read as भार्गो देवस्य धीमाही.

P. 169, 1. 21. Cf. RP. 11. 36: नकारलोपोष्मरभावमानयेत

P. 170, 1. 25. CA. uses "vinata" in the sense of 'cerebralised' in "abhyāsavinatānāṃ ca" iv. 82.

P. 175, 1. 14. Cf. RV. i. 164. 42: ततः क्षरत्यक्षरम्।

P. 176, 1. 21. क्षरणमन्याङ्गतया चलनम्। वैदिकाभरण १।२ "अक्षरं न क्षरति, न क्षीयते, वाक्क्षयो भवति, वाचोऽक्ष इति वा।" निः १३।११

P. 179, 1. 3. RT. shortens "sandhyakṣara" to "sandhya".

P. 180. नाट्यशास्त्र। य इमे स्वराश्चतुर्दश निर्दिष्टास्तत्र वै दश समानाः। ११।२२

P. 183, 1. 13. "ākāratah". For a similar Śleṣa, cf. "A doctor avers that women are eating too little. *Figures* prove it."

P. 184 bottom. "Antasthā" occurs in AA. iii. 1. 55.

P. 190. Pandit T. Venkatacarya says in the Journal of the Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Institute, Vol. viii. No. 2, p. 16: ह्रस्वः प्लुतो भवतीत्युक्ते मात्रिकः अच् समनन्तरद्विमात्रत्वमतिक्रम्य त्रिमात्रत्वं गच्छतीति भावः। तत्र प्रथमं मात्रिकमचमनुसृत्य तस्य प्लुतत्वेन त्रिमात्रीभवनं निरीक्ष्य प्लुतशब्दः तादृशत्रिमात्रिकस्य संज्ञात्वेन

परिकल्पितः । ··· अथवा ··· प्लवते = स्वकालस्य परां काष्ठां = त्रिमात्रत्वं गच्छति इत्यर्थात् प्लुतशब्दः त्रिमात्रिके अचि अन्वर्थः । All this is rather fanciful.

P. 201 top. Cf. English *surd*, originally 'deaf', then mute, voiceless.

P. 207. PR. uses 'ghoṣa' in the sense of 'ghoṣavat' in "ghoṣāt tu na f" iv. 489. See also p. 209 bottom.

P. 211, l. 14. वेणुवीणास्वराणामेकीभावे रक्तमित्युच्यते । नारदी शिक्षा २।१

P. 223. अनुस्वारो नमस्यैव (?) यावत् तद्देशयोगतः ।
मूर्ध्नि सङ्गं लभेत् (?) तावन्नेक्षते पुरतः स्वरम् ॥
सारस्वतटीका

P. 239. In ancient Egypt all sacred manuscripts were written in colours.

P. 247, bottom. उक्ते वर्णे सवर्णोऽपि ग्राह्यः कारे च केवलः । हैमप्रकाशः ।

P. 254, after l. 14. सम् । डत्यन्तादिश्च संख्या । तद्धित-परिशिष्ट १२७५

P. 269 bottom. All the above follows from the fact that "na vā" was originally a separate sentence. Cf. AŚS. vii. 10. 7, viii. 1. 14.

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